

Impressions of America during the years 1833, 1834, and 1835 / by Tyrone Power. Volume 2

SCENE BEFORE THE THE SPIKE AT NATCHEZ.

IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA, DURING THE YEARS 1833, 1834, AND 1835.

BY TYRONE POWER, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

NAHANT.

This rocky peninsula is truly a very wild and unworldlike little territory, jutting boldly out as it does into the mighty bay of Massachusetts, and commanding a view of its whole extent, from Cape Cod to Cape Anne, together with the many islands, towns, and villages scattered along the coast; whilst in front spreads out the Atlantic Ocean.

To sit within the upper gallery of this house upon the cliff, and watch the rising moon fling her golden bridge from the far horizon's edge, until it seems to rest upon the beach below, is a sight which would be worth something in a poet or a painter's eyes. VOL. II. B

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I never, either in the East or in the Mediterranean, beheld anything exceed in colour the glory of these evening skies, or their depth by night. Round about, near to the edge of the cliffs, are scattered a number of dwellings, built in the style of the southern cottage, having low projecting eaves covering a broad gallery which usually encircles the building: these are objects upon which the eye is pleased to rest when the moon deepens their shadows on the barren rock.

One or two of the highest and most conspicuous points, whether viewed from the land or the sea, have been very properly selected for buildings, whose uses, however humble, admitted of classic form. Beneath the roof of a temple to Minerva, built upon the extreme eastern point of the lofty headland, may be found the billiard-table of the hotel; lower down, the little edifice containing a range of baths is entered by a Doric portico. The proportions of these buildings are in good taste; the chaste cold moon clothes them in grace and beauty; and for the material, what matters it, when, by her light, painted pine may be fancied Parian marble! The cliff itself is a very Leucadia, and as well fitted for a leap as

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love-sick heart could seek: but there are no Sapphos now-a-days; the head of Nahant is likely to remain un-be-rhymed.

A little way to the northward lies a small steep island, between which and the main land the “sarpint” *par excellence* has been seen more than once rushing along at the rate of a steam-boat, with a horned face uplifted some fifty feet above the waves, and a beard blowing about his ears like the tail of a comet.

This account I had from more than one credulous witness: certain it is, if Sarpint be fond of fish, he is no bad judge in selecting this as a residence; for about this same island there are abundance and variety, both to be met with at all hours, as I can testify, having sat in a punt, bearing a wary eye for hours at a stretch, and catching all sorts of things except a sight of the “sarpint.”

The nights here are indeed delicious, calm and cool, with air as soft as velvet; during the day, for about two hours after meridian, owing to the absence of all shade without, one is compelled, although the sea-breeze does its best, to keep the house, or else get outside the bay of Boston, away from the land: this I was afforded B 2 4 frequent opportunities of doing, in a very pretty schooner-yacht called the Sylph, which Mr. F—s had down here. She was about eighty tons burthen, capitally appointed, and with rare qualities as a sea-boat; in her I had the happiness to pass many days, when the poor people on shore were pitiably grilled, cruising for cod-fish, and dishing them up into a sort of soup called chowder; this formed, in fact, the one great object of my present life, and I availed myself of every occasion to pursue it.

One of my pleasantest cruises was made with Captain H—d, in an armed schooner called the Hamilton, attached to the United States' revenue service. We ran down the coast as far as Portsmouth, and on our return passed a night within the snugly enclosed harbour of Marblehead; into which a couple of our cruisers chased an American frigate during the last war, and threatened to fetch her out again, but thought better of it, after putting the natives

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to a great deal of inconvenience through their anxiety to provide a suitable welcome for the strangers.

Here we landed, and looked about the place: the air was somewhat fishy, but, judging by the ruddy complexions of the people, must be exceedingly 5 salubrious. It is not unlike some of the French fishing-towns on the coast of Normandy, and has an old look that pleased me much. The place is said to have been originally settled by a colony of fishers from Guernsey, whose descendants are found still to retain many of the customs of the islands, and some words of the *patois* in use there.

The population is famous for industry, and for the summary mode with which they dispense justice amongst themselves on points of local polity affecting the general weal. One instance was fresh enough in memory to be talked of still. A townsman, returning from the Banks with a cargo, passed a vessel in a sinking state, turning a blind eye to their repeated anxious signals. Contrary to all expectation, the crippled bark, after being given up as lost, reached the harbour, and the conduct of the hard-hearted skipper was made public. He was seized *instanter*, triced up, served out with a dozen or two well told, covered with tar, clothed in feathers, and in this plight was carted about the boundaries of the township, having a label hung about his neck that described his crime and sentence in good set rhymes, which ran as follows:

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“This here's old John Hort, That for his hard heart Is tar-ed and feather-ed, And carry-ed in this cart.”

This occurs to me as being the best practicable illustration of “poetical justice” I ever heard of, and an example not likely to be lost upon a maritime people.

It was about dusk when we landed; and I was at first greatly surprised by the numbers of pretty and neatly-dressed women we encountered strolling about, or chatting together in groups, wholly unattended by the other sex. I was quickly reminded, however, that at this

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season of the year the husbands, lovers, and sons of the community are mostly absent in their vessels fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and not returnable under ten or twelve weeks.

I cannot help observing that it does infinite credit to the moderation of these *citoyennes* that they forbear from taking the sovereign rule into their own hands at these times, since assuredly they possess the power of numbers to enforce submission, were the resident housekeepers hardy enough to offer resistance.

Early on the morning of next day the Hamilton was once more under weigh; we beat along the 7 coast for some distance, then got before the wind, and, after peeping into the harbours of Salem and Gloucester, bore up for Nahant: when yet distant some five miles from our destined port, the wind fell at once start-calm, without much promise of a breeze till evening; a light gig, however, and four stout hands, soon set us on shore within the shadow of the temple of Minerva, and concluded a very pleasant cruise.

A steam-boat daily plies between this place and Boston: many persons come down here for an hour or two, and return on the same evening; a game of nine-pins and a dinner of fine fish, with advantages of fresh air and a temperature comparatively cool, being the inducements.

The resident families are not numerous, but appear to mix sociably; and, what with a drive or ride upon the fine beach between this and Lynn, a sail in the harbour, or a ramble amongst the rude crags by which the place is environed, find means diversified enough of killing the enemy. For my part, I am pleased with the place; and were it not that my incarnate foes have chosen, contrary to established custom, to make an inroad here, my satisfaction would be complete. But, as it is, they have at length once more prevailed over my patience: with my eyes nearly swollen up and my hands miserably blistered, I find further resistance too painful, therefore have decided upon flight after a fortnight's residence.

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One of the preparations for my comfort, at the dinner-table of Mr. P—s, with whose amiable family I have latterly.dined, was a cup of rosewater and *eau de Cologne* , with patches of the rice paper of China, wherewith to allay the intolerable itching that attends the puncture of these winged leeches, whose voracity is incredible. I have at times caught a villain in the act, and watched with patience until from one of the veins of the hand he had drunk blood enough to blow out his little carcass to the shape of a tennis-ball, when he would poise himself upon his long legs, and, spreading his wings, make an effort to rise, but in vain; bloated and unwieldy, his wings refused to sustain him; his usual activity was gone, and there he stood disgustingly helpless, incapacitated by sheer gluttony.

In the first week of August I bade adieu to the rocks of Nahant, and for the last time drove over the beach to Lynn. Not having received any letters during my residence on the little peninsula—which, it appears, is out of the circuit of 9 the post-office department—I called at the establishment of Lynn to make inquiry whether or no any letters had been forwarded here: the young man in attendance “guessed” that there had been one or two, maybe; but if there was, the stage-driver had had them. Now there being a feud between the said driver and the hotel I lodged in, my ever getting my letters appears a doubtful matter: however, “I guess” I’ll try.

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THE BALLOON.

TAUNTON.—COTTON MANUFACTURES.—POCASSETT. —RHODE ISLAND.

On arriving at Boston, I found the whole city in movement to assist, as the French say, in the ascent of a balloon, constructed by a Mr. Durant, already well known as an experienced and intrepid aëronaut.

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Purchasing a ticket for the Amphitheatre, a lofty temporary enclosure with rows of seats running round it, I fell into the crowd, and made my way across the common at the extremity of which the building in question was situated.

Although the day was hot and bright, there was a very strong southerly wind blowing; and rolling away to the north-east, heavy masses of cloud passed over the sun like snow-drifts, promising a rapid flight for the balloon.

This common, flanked as it is by the finest residences of the city, the Bostonians often compare with our Hyde Park. Its surface is broken ¹¹ and irregular, and on this day the whole area was alive with expectant gazers; whilst the several lines of streets leading into it were thronged with hurrying reinforcements.

Selecting a point of vantage, I stood for some time examining the materials out of which this vast congregation was made up, and I have never seen a population whose general appearance would endure so close a scrutiny as well.

I computed that the women outnumbered their less attractive companions by at least a third: these were all in holiday trim, of course; invariably well dressed, but commonly having a pretension to taste and style I have never elsewhere observed so universally prevalent amongst the same class. The men, both in air and dress, were inferior to their female friends; so much so that it was difficult to imagine them belonging to the same order: and this remark, I think, will be found to apply generally throughout the Union.

It is not difficult to account for this discrepancy: a love of adornment is natural to women; the general prosperity which prevails here enables all classes to indulge a taste for dress, whilst the leisure enjoyed by females gives them ¹² facilities for acquiring those little aids by which gay attire is disposed and set off to the best advantage.

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After a time I slowly made my way to the Amphitheatre, presented my ticket and was admitted within the enclosure, where the arrangements for the flight were in busy progress.

The inflation was nearly complete, and the huge machine rolled about from side to side uneasily abiding the restraint which alone prevented its immediate ascent. It was covered by the netting commonly used; and about this a number of volunteer assistants clung, restraining the balloon whilst the aëronaut made all his little arrangements.

The car was a small wicker basket; its cargo consisted of a few bags of sand for ballast, a barometer, and a couple of small kedges with lines to match. I had no idea a balloon could be brought up, all standing, by so small a cable.

I observed Mr. Durant devoted no small attention to the disposition of a little fellow-passenger he purposed giving a lift to,—a rabbit, muzzled and netted within a small basket, which, being appended to a parachute, was destined to come from aloft with the latest lunar intelligence. 13 Chance, however, robbed the rabbit of the honour of performing this desperate service; for as the balloon was about to mount, the pipe bound within the neck of the valve was by some unlucky pull withdrawn, and, before this could be re-inserted, so much gas had escaped it became necessary to make a proportionate diminution in the freight. The rabbit was at once detached from the car, evidently chagrined at the disappointment, judging by the resistance it made; and several bags of ballast, together with such stores as might be best spared, were also discharged.

During all this time, and the bustle consequent upon the accident, Mr. Durant preserved the most admirable coolness; and, having stopped the leak, next set about repairing his fractured netting with infinite quickness and dexterity.

On a second attempt he rose in good style, loudly cheered by the spectators within the Amphitheatre; but no sooner had he cleared its wall than the shout of the people

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arose. Making a stoop almost to their heads, he discharged the greater part of the remaining ballast, and mounting again, was borne away to the eastward with great rapidity. The crowd dispersed immediately, but the whole afternoon was filled by the accounts constantly arriving of his route, and the probable result. Report was at an early hour brought that the machine had been seen to alight in the ocean, about sixteen miles north-east of Nahant, where it sank in sight of several schooners, taking its pilot down with it. Soon after it was affirmed that a Portland steamer had rescued the man, and that the balloon alone was drowned.

In this state of uncertainty the public continued until about nine o'clock next morning, at which hour Mr. Durant walked into the hall of the Tremont, where numbers of persons were arguing his probable fate. After the greeting of his friends was over, he gave a very particular and interesting account of the peril he had been rescued from. It appeared that the aërial part of his voyage had terminated, as was reported, in the Atlantic, some miles off Nahant. Sustained by an inflated girdle, he hung on to the balloon, and was dragged after it at no small rate for some time, until a schooner falling in with this strange sail, gave chase, and overhauled the queer craft.

As soon as the schooner got alongside, a line was flung to the aëronaut, which he, solicitous to save his machine as well as himself, made fast to the car, and bade them hoist away: the first hearty pull lifted the balloon from the waves, when, the wind catching it, up it mounted. The line to which it was fastened chanced to be the topsail halliards; and whisk! before a belay could be passed, up flew poor Mr. Durant high over the vessel's mast; after hanging on for a moment, his strength failed, and down he plumped from an elevation of some hundred and fifty feet back into the sea. How deep he dived, or for what length of time he remained below amongst the codling, he did not say, not having calculated "the sum of his sensation to a second:" but he readily "guessed" he would no-how admire such another tumble. His resolution, however, was nothing abated; for he immediately began to repair his balloon, and make ready for a new "sail i' the air."

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The day following the return of the adventurous balloonist, I left Boston, accompanied by my friend Captain B—n, taking the land route for Newport, Rhode Island. Our vehicle was a Jersey waggon, with a couple of capital ponies; we started early, breakfasted at a good road-side inn, and reached the town of Taunton 16 about mid-day, where we halted to let the heat of the sun pass over, and dine.

We took a stroll about the little town, which is famous for its cotton manufactures; and were pleased to observe every symptom of prosperity that might be outwardly exhibited, —a well-dressed population, houses remarkably clean and neat, with much bustle in the streets. The military mania, which pervades the whole country, we also saw here exhibited in a way really quite amusing, and by a class to whom it would be well were it confined, since the display was more becoming in them than in any less precocious corps of volunteers I remember to have seen.

Whilst standing in the shade of our hotel, the rattle of drums gave note of some display of war; an event of daily occurrence during this season of the year throughout these northern States, where playing at soldiers is one of the choicest amusements. Captain B—n asked a stander-by what volunteer corps was parading to-day: “Why, I don't rightly know; but I guess it may be the Taunton Juvenile Democratic Lancers.”

Our informant was quite right; for whilst, puzzled by the gravity of the man, I was considering 17 whether or no he meant a hoax by the style which he bestowed upon the gallant corps, into the square it marched, with drums beating and colours flying. The colonel commanding was a smart little fellow, about twelve years old, dressed in a fancy uniform jacket, and ample linen cossacks; his regiment mustered about forty rank and file, independent of a numerous and efficient staff: they were in full uniform; most of them were about the colonel's age, some of the cornets perhaps a trifle younger, as became their station; they were armed with lances; and their motto was most magnanimous, being all about glory, death, liberty, and democracy. Nothing could be more steady than the

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movements of this corps on foot; and, when mounted, I have no doubt they prove as highly efficient a body as any volunteer lancer cavalry in the Union.

This could not be called “teaching the young idea how to shoot,” since the corps only bore *l'arme blanche*; but it was highly creditable to the waggery of the citizens of Taunton, and the most efficient burlesque upon the volunteer system I had yet seen, although I have encountered many more elaborately gotten up. VOL. II. C

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Whilst we were devising some means of visiting the principal manufactory, a gentleman entered our room, and introducing himself said, that, having recognised me in the street, he had called to know if he could be of any service in showing myself and friend the only lions of the place,—its manufactories.

This act of politeness, which I have found a common occurrence in every part of the Union, at once relieved us from our difficulty, and off we set in company with our civil guide to visit the largest dépôt of the place.

The designs of the printed cottons, and the colours, both struck me as being exceedingly good; in texture, however, I did not conceive any of the cloths equal to similar stuffs which I had seen at home in manufacturing towns. One of the partners informed me that they supplied large quantities of goods to the markets both of India and of South America: the manufacturer's chief drawback, he said, was found in the cost of labour; indeed, judging by the dress and neat appearance of the young women employed here, they must be exceedingly well paid: a comparison drawn between them and the same class of *employées* in England 19 would be singularly in favour of the Taunton “Maids of the Mill.”

The cool time of the day being come, we once more had our active ponies put to, and away they went as eager to “go a-head” as on our first start. From this place to Pocasset the ride was lovely: our road lay high above the river; and, over the luxuriant foliage,

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topsail-schooners, large sloops, and other craft, were seen working their different courses, some bound up, others to Providence, Newport, or the ports on the coast.

A few miles from the town we came upon a small clearing by the road-side, evidently in use as a place of burial, and nothing ever struck me as more neglected; a few decayed boards, with an ill-shaped falling head-stone or two, were all the prosperous living had bestowed upon their departed kindred. This neglect of those little decencies with which, amongst most people, places of sepulture are surrounded, is a thing of common observance in this part of the Union, and is one of the reproaches readily noticeable by all strangers. The distinction in this respect between the North and South is remarkable, and highly creditable to the feelings of the latter. C 2

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By the time we reached Pocasset it was nearly dark, and here we settled for the night, having driven the ponies fifty odd miles, without their being in the least distressed, and on a day of no ordinary fervor.

In the evening we attended a book sale, and were much amused by the volubility and humour of the Yankee salesman, who, with his coat off in a close crowded room, lectured upon the merits of the authors he offered, whether poetical, religious, historical, mathematical, or political, with equal ease and grace, greatly to the edification of the bystanders. The editions were chiefly American, made to sell, and thus exceedingly cheap. History and novels appeared to be the literature in demand; and Walter Scott, Byron, and Bulwer, the names most familiar in the verbal catalogue galloped over by the "learned gentleman," as our auctioneer advertisements have it.

The hotel here was remarkably neat and clean; we procured an excellent cup of tea, and next morning found a most substantial breakfast. After seeing the population assemble for church, and walking about the banks of the river, which are very beautiful, we about noon 21 set out for our final destination, over a villanous, rough road, reached Rhode Island, by

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the long substantial causeway connecting it with the main land, and from this point we had a good turnpike, pulling up at Newport by two o'clock.

The public dinner was already over, being Sabbath; but the proprietor of our hotel, a worthy Quaker named Potter, got us a very comfortable meal at five o'clock, according to our wishes: meantime we rid ourselves of the accumulated dust of two days, and were comfortably established in out-quarters, the hotel being full.

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NEWPORT.

RHODE ISLAND.

The appearance of Newport is much less imposing, as approached by land, than when viewed from the noble harbour over which it looks. It consists of one long line of close-built, narrow streets running parallel with the water about the base of the steep hill, with many others climbing up its side. It is indifferently paved, and has a very light soil; so that upon the least land-breeze the lower town is filled with the dust, which is blown about in clouds.

Before the revolution, Newport was a city of comparative importance, and indeed, whilst the importation of slaves continued a part of the trade of the country, held its own with the most thriving cities of the east coast, through the great advantage it derived from its easy harbour, but 23 with the abolition of that traffic came the downfall of its prosperity; for having no back country by the exportation of whose produce it might sustain itself, it was speedily deserted by the mercantile community, and its carrying trade usurped by Providence, although the latter is situated some thirty miles higher up the river. A railroad from Boston through the wealthy manufacturing districts might nevertheless, I should imagine, bestow upon this place the supremacy which the difficulty of land-carriage alone has withheld from it.

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Its great natural advantage to visitors is the charming climate with which it is favoured, owing to its being on all sides surrounded by deep water: this is a point that cannot be changed by a decree in Congress, or removed by order of the Board of Trade, and likely to be of more use to the place, if made the most of, than the dockyard and depôt which they seek to establish.

If the English plan was adopted, and small snug cottages built and furnished for the use of families resorting here, these families would naturally—quit the arks in which they are now congregated, and live each after the manner of 24 its kind, as all wise animals do; in which case, I cannot anywhere imagine a more charming abode, or one possessing superior advantages.

The general aspect of the neighbourhood puts me in mind of the Lothians; whilst some of the rides amongst the shady lanes, through whose high, loose hedgerows glimpses were constantly occurring of the sea and rocky shore, were not unworthy a comparison with portions of that Eden of our western coast, the Isle of Wight.

The harbour of Newport is of vast extent, easy of entrance, and perfectly secure from all the winds that blow: its advantages in the event of a naval war must ultimately render it the chief general depôt of these States. The government appears quite sensible of the policy of rendering this noble station perfectly secure in good season: a series of defences, of first-rate importance, are in a course of erection which, when completed, it is supposed will render the harbour impregnable to any attempt from the sea. To Fort Adams, the rough-work of which is completed, I paid more than one visit; and nothing can be more substantially put together.

The necessity of a dockyard of the first order being established at this point appears to have been long and warmly pressed upon the administration by all naval men who have considered the subject: want of money, the great stumbling-block of a cheap government, has hitherto prevented the plan being carried into execution; but it is

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imagined that this will not be delayed much longer, after the defences are completed. Since the decease of the gallant Perry, this has ceased to be a naval station; during the last years of his life he held a command here, which was almost nominal.

I visited the place where Perry lies buried beneath a simple obelisk of granite: few heroes appear to have lived so universally loved as was the Conqueror of the Lakes. His short but brilliant career, added to his youth and remarkable personal beauty, made him the idol of the people; whilst his generous disposition and winning manners rendered him the delight of his friends. I never heard the name of this officer mentioned without eulogium, mingled with regret for his premature death.

My condition here is enviable enough: I have a pleasant room, with a fig-tree growing before my window, beneath which Captain B—n and myself breakfast daily, well shaded from sun and 26 dust; not a musquito disputes possession with us; and the dinner-table at the “Pottery” is well served enough, and graced by several very handsome women.

Here is another large hotel near to us, which, from its high bare walls and numerous windows, we have named the “Factory;” and a sort of rivalry may be said to exist between the “Pottery girls” and those of this “Factory.” The amusements consist of scandal, bathing, riding, with an occasional boating party, but the men are not enterprising, otherwise the facilities for little pic-nics and country excursions abound. The ladies, who have monopolized all the spirit here, contrive frequently to get up little hops at one house or other, and these are conducted with much gaiety and good humour; albeit, parties hold each other at a wary distance, and, although living in common beneath the same roof, have classifications made upon principles which have hitherto eluded my penetration, and are too numerous to be easily defined by the most accomplished master of the ceremonies Margate ever boasted. The laws of our exclusives, however incomprehensible, are, as elsewhere, arbitrary; and the votary of fashion must be content 27 blindfold to follow the despotic goddess, or quit her ranks.

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Whilst here, I had observed for some time an advertisement setting forth that on a certain day a steam-boat would make an excursion to Block Island. This I resolved to join: first, because any change was desirable which might kill a day; and next, because I knew the place had been a sort of station whereat our squadron managed to hang on during the war, although singularly wild and harbourless.

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BLOCK ISLAND.

Early in the morning, the steamer employed in this service quitted Providence with a full live cargo; and at Newport it brought up for about an hour, during which time several recruits, myself amongst the number, joined her.

It blew fresh from about east by south; and, in consequence, no sooner had we cleared the harbour, than we were met by a heavy head-sea, and nothing was to be seen on all sides but sickness, and the misery consequent upon the dilapidation of the pretty caps and bonnets of the fair Providencials. Never was a party of pleasure-seekers in a more woe-begone plight than was this of ours when we arrived in the open roadstead of the most inhospitable-looking shores of Block Island.

Before we could bring up, the boats of the natives, apprised of our purpose, surrounded the ship, offering, for a consideration of about a 29 quarter dollar per head, to land us upon their territory. The boats were presently filled; and from the larger ones, after they had grounded on the beach, we were by degrees landed in shallops.

On terra firma we encountered a few men in no outward way differing from the fishermen of the main, but with a confirmed craving after coin, which, however common to all civilized beings, is seldom so openly and importunately exposed as amongst these simple citizens. Boys of seventeen and eighteen years of age thought no shame to solicit a cent from the passing strangers, and were not readily got rid of.

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The island, over which I wandered in common with others of the goodly company of adventurers, presented one uniform view: a rolling surface, without any considerable elevation; sea-bound, without a single harbour, or a village in the least attractive; half-a-dozen huts are scattered here and there in irregular lines, indifferently built, and having no care bestowed in the way of out-door adornment; not a tree appears on the place, although in the sheltered situations I should imagine they would thrive: in short, a less attractive islet I never remember to have visited, or one so utterly divested of interest. 30 The only pleasure I derived was from a view of the open roadstead, where our gallant ships used to ride out the hardest blows, much to the surprise of the natives, who yet spoke of the event with wonder.

Perhaps, on a visit like this, we did not see the best sample of this isolated community: I hope not, for their sake; for our followers had a greedy, overreaching air and manner really disgusting, and in all our little transactions exhibited a sordid grasping propensity one could not expect to meet with in a people so out of the world, and who are in the possession of great plenty: their island yields abundance of corn and common vegetables, the sea upon their shores is famous for the quantity and quality of its fish, and therefore is this grasping spirit a matter of some marvel. I found all my American fellow-voyagers who had been on shore, equally struck with the singularity of our reception, and especially mortified at the exhibition of pauperism never to be met with upon the main. I passed two years in America, and the only place where I ever was importuned by a native beggar was at this island.

Our voyage back was quickly accomplished, being before the wind; but the rolling of the 31 vessel occasioned a *da capo* of the morning's scene, anything but pleasant, crowded as we were. This was my very first attempt at a "steam-boat excursion," the allurements of which are daily set forth, coloured after anything but nature, in all the journals: a man may be excused for doing a foolish thing once; this is one of the follies I can safely pledge myself never to commit again. The Rhode Island party was landed at Newport early in the

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evening, and in so much had the advantage of the pleasure seekers from higher up the river. If ever there should chance such another tempting of "Providence," I hope, for sake of its pretty girls, it may be successfully resisted.

On the 27th of August I took leave of Newport and its pleasant atmosphere and sociable visitors; and certainly think that it would be difficult to select a place better adapted for a summer's residence, were there any means of conserving one's individuality a little: the situation and climate being unexceptionable.

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NEW YORK.

ROCKAWAY.—A ROAD ADVENTURE.

Finding a hot day in New York on my arrival, I accompanied Mr. R—d and his lady to Rockaway, a fine beach on Long Island, and upon which a subscription hotel of enormous dimensions has this year been built.

At this palace of the sand-hills, outside of which nothing attractive is to be found save a breeze, I encountered many of my New York friends. The crowd was now thinned daily by departures; but if the persons who had departed were as agreeable as those yet remaining, and animated by a similar spirit of enjoyment, their absence was a serious loss. A spirit of sociability and good-humour seemed to prevail here; and the inducements for walking being limited to loose sand-hills, without the least shade, on a rough shingle beach, the fun was all reserved for the evening, when the inmates assembled in the drawing-room, 33 where each contributed a quota; and music, conundrums, waltzing, a quadrille, or a Virginian reel, made a couple of hours literally fly away. Here, as in most of the watering-places of the country, early hours appeared a standing rule.

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This house is well arranged, and the table exceedingly good. My stay was limited to three or four days, a circumstance I regretted the less on account of finding that most of my intimate acquaintance were returning to their homes.

On Sunday, September 14th, at two o'clock P.M., embarked on board the mail-boat for Amboy, taking with me a nag I had used as a saddle-hack throughout the summer months; my purpose being to ride through the country intervening between the Raritan and the Delaware rivers, as I had done on more than one occasion, but never before by the same route exactly which I now intended to pursue by way of changing the scene.

I found five horses on board the boat, bound for Bordenton races, and about five o'clock we were all landed at Amboy, whence I directly pushed on for my next stage, Hightstown. The VOL. II. D 34 road was a track of light white sand, and ran through a close dwarf forest, stocked with a fine growth of mosquitoes, but having no one attraction to call for the halt of a minute. By half-past seven I had reached my quarters for the night; saw my horse well taken care of under the superintendence of a good-humoured Irish boy, who was ostler, and, as he informed me, deputy waiter, besides having a "power of other things to be doin';" next, partook of a comfortable supper, and, after a short walk about the village, to bed; my purpose being to reach Bordenton next morning by six o'clock, to take the early boat for Philadelphia.

About three o'clock A. M. I was roused by my host, who brought me a light. He had made a good guess at the time; but it would have been as well had he slept an hour or two later. My horse was soon got ready, and I set forward to feel my way, with an assurance that I had nothing to do but keep right a-head, the road being as straight as a hickory pole.

The morning was fine, but cold: the stars yet twinkled brightly; but their light did not suffice to make my way very clear to me; so I followed my directions implicitly, and for some 35 time briskly. Unluckily, a sea of mist was to be passed as I went through the low grounds;

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and, whilst in this, I could not discern my horse's ears for the soul of me, notwithstanding that the punctuality of the steamer demanded that I should lose no time.

I had a good nag under me, however, and rattled on merrily enough, thinking to myself what a very priggish person it must have been who first promulgated the saying, that no wise traveller ever quits his hostel before the sun gets up, or remains out of it after the sun has gone to bed. "There were no steamers at six A. M. in those times," said I to myself, as I conned over the musty aphorism; "and travelling must have been done by this methodical person at a very slow pace." At this moment I heard the rattle of boards, and became aware that I was on a bridge: I instantly reined up, when, rattle! up tilts some loose plank, and in goes one of my nag's legs up to the shoulder. To fall back upon his haunches, make a rear up, and, in answer to a sharp blow of the spur, suddenly to bolt over something and into somewhere, was the action of a moment: in the tumble, that succeeded his leap, I got a couple of D 2 36 confounded hard raps on the side of the head, which convinced me I had not lighted among feathers.

My horse was either the most stunned or the most frightened, for I was first on my feet; and after scrambling up a bank below the end of the bridge, I made shift to urge my nag to get on his legs and regain the road.

My upper story was a good deal confused, but knowing there was no time to be lost, after ascertaining that the horse's knees were not broken, and that my bones though shaken were all whole, up I got and away we started, with a new, and, as it turned out, a bad departure. I congratulated myself on being so easily let off; for, had a plank turned on the middle of the bridge instead of the extremity, the forward spring of my horse would have precipitated us into the river, which was less desirable infinitely than the dry ditch down whose bank we had rolled.

On I pushed, and up got the day, slowly but, brightly enough: a spire appeared in view, and I considered myself at Bordenton; the village was quickly gained, but proved some

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place unknown to me. On I went, and about a quarter of an hour after saw a second spire. "Here 37 we are in port at last, thank Heaven," said I, for never did sixteen miles appear so long to me: but no, all was yet strange, not a point could I recognise. At a moment when my perplexity was complete—for, though confused, I felt assured I had covered more than the ground lying between my harbours—I saw a man with a horse and cart leaving a yard upon some early errand: riding up to him therefore, I inquired,

"Pray, sir, how far is it to Bordenton?"

"Exactly eighteen miles," was the answer.

I conceived at first that my question was not rightly understood; therefore, to make all sure, reiterated the inquiry, adding, "I mean Bordenton, where Joseph Bonaparte lives."

"When he's there, you mean," says the man: "I guess I mean that too."

"Bordenton eighteen miles off!" ejaculated I. "My friend, it's not possible; either you or I must be a little mad!"

"I'm quite the contrary," observed my sharp-witted informant, "bein' uncommon sensible; I don't know how you feel about the head notwithstanding."

I now began to imagine he was quizzing me; therefore, in order to make him feel that my 38 questions were urged in anything but a jesting spirit, I made known my object in taking the road thus early, and concluded by saying,

"I have been riding for two hours on the way to Bordenton, being but sixteen miles distant from it at starting; so how, my good friend, do you make it out?"

"Well, I don't know," was his reply, given in a most unsympathising sort of tone; "but I reckon you'll about double the distance if you ride for two hours more on this road, as you are now a-going."

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"How so?" said I, "Is not this the road?"

"O yes! I guess it is, only you're looking towards the wrong ind on it, if you want to fetch Bordenton; but, maybe, you're bound for Amboy all the time, mister?"

"And where the devil is Hightstown?" said I.

"About two miles and a half behind you. I 'm going there myself."

At this moment I do not think it would have been difficult to have made me doubt my own identity, so utterly bothered was I; but my informant was quite right, for, turning about, I entered the village for the third time this morning, just three 39 hours after I took my first departure from it, during which I must have ridden at least twenty-four miles.

Not wanting to answer many questions, I alighted at the rival hotel, ordered breakfast, and looked at my horse's legs. I found the hair just rubbed off one knee, and that he was scratched on the other leg from the fetlock joint to the fore-arm, but nowhere badly cut. After a hasty breakfast I returned to the road, and got safely to my destination in time for the second boat. It was a blundering adventure, but served me with a hearty laugh when it was over; I must, however, have been a good deal bothered by my fall, or I should never have headed the wrong way, dark as it was. My left temple continued swollen for two or three days; and my horse was laid up for a month, the glands of his neck swelling, until a serious abscess was formed, owing to his having pitched with his head against the bank in falling. I narrowly inspected the place a few weeks after this morning, and only wonder both our necks were not broken.

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JOURNAL.

Philadelphia, Sept. 16 th. —The climate just now is delicious; and these clean quiet streets, with the trees which shade them, have all the freshness of spring. Many Southern

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strangers are here, enjoying the delightful residence this city affords at this season of the year. Chestnut-street, if not so crowded, quite as gay as Broadway just now, being daily filled with pretty women. Theatre crowded.

24 *th.* —Colonel B—ke and his family arrived *en route* for Washington, which they are desirous of visiting previous to their departure for England. It is a pity they are so late in the season, or rather so early: the capital is deserted now, and hot as Jamaica; even our hospitable minister, Sir Charles, has not yet, I fancy, resumed his good housekeeping.

25 *th.* —Had the pleasure of driving Mrs. B—ke and Miss M—e to the works at 41 Mount Pleasant, and thence along the south bank of the Schuylkill: the day was sunny, yet not over warm; the river and its beautiful banks were never seen to greater advantage; the foliage, just touched by the hand of Autumn, was changing fast, not “into the sear and yellow leaf,” but into the most lovely livery in which nature ever dressed her forests; I had the satisfaction of hearing my favourite haunt sufficiently lauded by the whole party. Dined with Colonel B—ke.

27 *th.* —After a long ride in the morning, accompanied Colonel B—ke and ladies to dinner at Mrs. W—gs. In the evening, a small party, with music. A sister of our hostess, Madame P—t, who is an accomplished musician, sang some duets with Count S—in excellent taste; and we had Mrs. W—gs' harp in perfection. She is certainly the best lady harpist I ever heard; her taste and feeling are both good, her execution certain and brilliant, and her touch nearly as firm, if not quite so vigorous, as Bochsa's, whose pupil indeed she is; and infinite credit does she do her master.

Is it that music is more cultivated as a science in Philadelphia, or that I have chanced to 42 light upon a more musical circle here than it has been my fortune to encounter elsewhere? Certain it is, I have not, in the other great cities, met any women whose musical education appears so exceedingly good, though a love for the art, I should say, is general throughout the country.

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28 *th.* —At seven A.M. left Chestnut-street for Baltimore. Whilst steering through the waters of the Chesapeake, perceived a large steamer standing right for us, with a signal flying. Learned that this was the Columbus, bound for Norfolk, Virginia, for which place we had several passengers, who were now to be transhipped to the approaching vessel.

We were out in the open bay, with half a gale of wind blowing, and some sea on; it therefore became a matter of interest to observe how two large ships of this class would approach each other.

The way they managed this ticklish affair was really admirable: before we neared, I observed the Norfolk ship was laid head to wind, and just enough way kept on to steer her; our ship held on her course, gradually lessening her speed, until, as she approached the Columbus, it barely 43 sufficed to lay and keep her alongside, when they fell together, gangway to gangway: warps were immediately passed, and made secure at both head and stern; and in a minute the huge vessels became as one.

Here was no want of help; the luggage and the passengers were ready at the proper station, so that in a handful of minutes the transfer was completed without bustle or alarm. Meantime the interest of this novel scene was greatly. increased by the coming up of the inward-bound Norfolk-man, which flitted close by us amidst the roar occasioned by the escaping steam of the vessels lying-to, a noise that might have drowned the voice of Niagara.

As we thus lay together, I noticed that the upper or promenade deck of the Columbus was completely taken up by a double row of flashy-looking covered carts, or tilt-waggons, as they are called here. Upon inquiry, I found that these contained the goods, and were, indeed, the movable stores, or shops, of that much enduring class, the Yankee pedlars, just setting forth for their annual winter cruise amongst the plantations of the South: where, however their keen dealing may be held in awe, they are looked for 44 with lively anxiety, and their arrival greeted as an advent of no little moment.

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They form a hardy and enterprising class, and ought to be well paid for the risks and great labour they undergo; being, in fact, the mercantile pioneers of the continent, every corner of which they penetrate from the Atlantic to the Pacific, supplying, in their route, the frontiers with little luxuries that else would never find a way there for years to come. They thus keep the chain of civilization entire, binding the remotest settlers to the great Union by their necessities, to which it administers through these its adventurous agents, whose tempting “*notions*” constantly create new wants amongst the simple children of the forest and prairie.

Arranged in a half circle about the bow on the main-deck, I observed the horses of these royal pedlars: they stretched their necks out to examine us with a keenness of look worthy their knowing masters' reputation and their own education.

Our business being completed, the hissing sound of the waste-steam pipe ceased, this force being once more applied to its right use; the paddles began to move, the lashings were cast 45 off, and away the boats darted from each other with startling rapidity; the Columbus, with the gale aft, rushing down the great bay of the Chesapeake, and the Washington breasting its force right for Baltimore.

Our captain, I soon perceived, was bent upon overtaking the steamer that had passed whilst we were busied alongside the Columbus; and so quickly did he overhaul her, that, although we had not over fourteen miles to go, he left her astern far enough before entering the harbour to satisfy his honour, and prove the George Washington the fastest boat. About four o'clock P.M. we approached the wharf, amidst the usual cries of “coach!” “want a coach, your honour?” given in accents always welcome to my ears, for they remind me of home.

I am here tempted to recall a little personal anecdote, which is illustrative of the character of this class of my countrymen, and proves that the ready address for which they are so famous at home does not desert them on this side the water.

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During the first visit I paid this city, I had of course made particular acquaintance with one or two Jarveys; for I lived a long way from my 46 work, and their attention was serviceable. On my next arrival at the harbour, it was late: we had encountered a snow storm, and I, being wet and wretched enough, was anxious to get to the hotel, having to play that night. I was on the look-out as we touched the wharf, and with great delight heard a voice most melodiously bawl out,

“O! blur' an' oons, boys, if here isn't Mr. Power!”

The planks were shoved over, and, at the same moment, half a dozen voices greeted me with the accustomed

“Here's a coach, Mr. Power!”

“Och! sure your honour 'll go wid me this turn, for luck!”

“You're welcome, Mr. P—: long life to yez! it's I 've the coach 'll whip you up to ould Barnums', snug and dry, in no time.”

In the midst of this din, whilst I was yet on the plank, I perceived a tall raw-boned Tipperary lad, who had evidently decided on appropriating me, making his way most unceremoniously through the crowd, shouting out in a tone that drowned all competitors,

“Och! thin', will yez stop yer bawling, and 47 don't bother Mr. Power, when his *own* carriage has bin waiting for him here these two hours.”

An appeal like this was not to be resisted: I therefore accompanied my friend to my *own* carriage; and whatever doubts I might entertain as to this part of my friend's statement, the fact of its having been in waiting for “these two hours” I could readily credit; for I found it half full of snow. I observed upon its condition, saying that, as I was expected, *my* carriage might have been better looked after.

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"Wasn't I below looking afther ye're honour, and that's the way the snow got in without my seein' it: indeed, we're not a dale used to snows here away; but I'll have it out and turn the cushions, and powdher you up to the hotel in a minute."

All this was said and done in an accent and with a manner that made me for a moment forget the wharf of Baltimore, and fancy myself at the foot of Essex bridge, or landing on the pier of Kingston.

Just as I was sitting down to dinner, received a note from Mr. S—r, offering kindly, that, if I felt so disposed, they would next morning take out the hounds, and see if a fox could not be found. I accepted the invitation with pleasure, and dined no worse with the prospect of a run in the distance.

To the theatre, and early to bed, after giving directions to be called at half-past five A.M., fox-hunting being an early business here; in fact, the moment the sun is fairly out, the moisture vanishes from the ground, and afterwards it becomes hard to find. Slept like a dormouse; dreamed of dogs, dykes, and red-foxes, until I was awakened by my horse backing at a Virginia rail-fence, and giving me a nearer prospect of his ears than was consistent with the true principles of equation—found Sam shaking me by the shoulder, with warning that it was time to rise.

29 *th*. —Took a cup of coffee, and mounted the nag Mr. S—r had sent for my use, with a saddle ample enough for a camel, a double bridle, a martingale, and all kinds of traps equally perplexing. The martingale, judging from the pony's make and carriage, I at once took objections to; but the white-headed negro groom received my directions to take it off with such evident horror, saying with tears in his eyes, "Dat he not at all good, no how neber, widout da martingal," that out of courtesy I felt compelled to retain it for the present, but with the mental resolution to remove it when we got to cover.

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I soon discovered that my pony at his ordinary gait was a “fiddler,” besides exhibiting slight symptoms of musical talent; he was, however, cobby and well-built, showed much spirit, and had a good spice of breeding about him; presuming his pluck to be answerable, I did not despair of being somewhere.

In the suburbs we unkennelled the dogs: the pack consisted of twenty, all counted; ill-matched as to size and bone, but appearing healthy, clean, full of spirits, and in good working trim.

The huntsman, an old builder, of sporting character, turned out with his dogs, mounted on a powerful bay horse nearly thorough-bred, with capital pins, and real Irish quarters; as is the uniform custom here, I observed he rode with a martingale, having slips of leather on the reins to prevent the rings from drawing close to the cheek. How the devil are they to jump tired nags with these things! says I to myself; but we shall see!

Our huntsman, albeit his equipment would not have won him credit or recognition as “a sporting man” at a costermonger's skurry in Battersea-fields, VOL. II. E 50 had the quick eye, bright look, and keen expression of feature common to all knowing ones in the noble art of *vénérerie*: he managed to make his dogs obedient, and kept them well together during a ride of some six or eight miles, although no two couple were at all matched in weight or power.

At length we cast off into as likely a looking cover as ever hound was put through, and in ten minutes after we received good information from a dependable quarter that Reynard was there or thereabouts; the scent was, judging by the tongue, not a very warm one, but our huntsman appeared confident that all was right.

In a few minutes the cry grew more cheery, the lively dogs more anxious; and whilst poking through the cover, I saw the fox, a grey one, stealing outward, and tally-ho'd him.

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The dogs were wide abroad, but all busy as ants; the leaders confident, and showing no signs of being at fault; the old man declined to hark 'em-to, preferring that they should find their own way: this, after a good deal of doubling, they certainly did; an old hound hit the right scent, by inspiration as it were; and went away to it as straight as a rifle-ball, 51 and almost as quick; taking out of this cover across a small meadow that divided it from another, into which the fox struck as quickly as possible.

It became evident, after a little dodging about, that Reynard had made up his mind to trust to these neighbour covers for safety; the dogs could not get him off: we viewed the rascal several times; and at one time I hoped he had resolved to change his plan and go-away, for he dashed from the cover-edge and tried his speed with the dogs, leading them gallantly for a few minutes; but the beast had no real game in his nature, for he doubled back for another corner of his bush.

Thus he ran and thus we rode from cover to cover, nearly always in the same line, for full two hours and a half; when the cur being brought fairly to a stand-still, was caught and killed near to where he was first tally-ho'd. The only interest afforded by this sort of chase arose from the extreme tenacity with which the hounds held on to the trail as they ran their prey through all his doubles in covers closely set with trees, and having an undergrowth of thick brushwood and bramble, all but impassable. E 2

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I was also much amused by observing the behaviour of two young English hounds, that had been imported this season only, by Captain Stockton, from the kennel of Sir Harry Goodricke, and marked H. G. on the off-side. The slut took to this rough work as keenly as any of the old hounds, and was well up with the leading dogs throughout: but the dog would not face the cover; he stuck close to the heels of the last horse in every skurry, and never evinced the least desire to do credit to his gallant breeding.

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About three o'clock got back to Baltimore, with but a poor opinion of Transatlantic fox-hunting, if this may be considered a specimen. My excellent and sport-loving friend, S—r, informs me, however, that the red fox when found is another affair altogether, possessing great speed, and having courage to rely upon it.

In search of one of this family, I have promised to ride on Friday, wind and weather permitting; at present both are more variable than I can describe, the extreme changes of the temperature, and the suddenness of these, utterly surpassing all my experience. One day I have a large fire, and the next, windows and doors open in search of cool air: in the course of the afternoon 53 a change of twenty degrees is a common occurrence. The Indian summer has not yet set in, but when the influence of the equinox is over, we shall have, I hope, a few of those divine days that made last fall so enjoyable a season.

Since my last visit, a very handsome hotel has been completed adjoining the Exchange, of which building it forms indeed a part; it is to be conducted after the manner of the Mansion-house at Philadelphia. This is the work of two or three public-spirited men, and the benevolence of their design merits the thanks of the travelling community; for the more such hotels are multiplied, the better for them.

30 *th*. —Accompanied by Mr. G—s, went to look over a small collection of pictures belonging to a Mr. Gilmour. I was struck by a couple of portraits painted by Lawrence: they were the likenesses of the proprietor of the house and his wife. The gentleman was done in the best style of this master; and the lady, an exceedingly lovely woman, was also an admirable as well as a most attractive portrait; but lacking, I imagined, that quiet simple grace which makes his female figures so refined, so inimitable.

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Here were several good pictures of both the Italian and Dutch schools, amongst others a Cuyp, said to be undoubtedly original; but, viewed through the medium of closely-curtained drawing-rooms, on a dull day, it was not possible to form a correct judgment as

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to the true character of any of the subjects. The whole thing was however in good taste; and numberless articles of *virtù* gave evidence of the refinement and love of art which distinguishes the owner, who, I regretted to learn, was at this time confined to his bed by severe illness. I had the honour of being presented to the lady of the house; and, although many years have passed since she sat to our late President, I at once recognised her for the original of the charming portrait to which I have alluded.

October 3rd. —Friday, at seven A.M., left Barnum's to seek for a red fox in company with my friend S—r, and that fine old man, Mr. Oliver, now no more. We were joined on the way by three or four other gentlemen, and on we pushed for the Neck, where the landing took place under Ross, our ground being the field of battle. The morning was insufferably sultry; but, as it had rained all the previous day, it was decided 55 by the knowing ones that the scent would lie well.

I observed that we had on this day a new huntsman, and, upon inquiry for our former companion, learnt that he was compelled to stay by his brick-field. His successor, a queer-looking fish, who was hailed as Colonel A—, afforded me much amusement by the singularity of his equipment; as we neared our hunting-ground, my attention was yet more strongly fixed upon the colonel by old Mr. Oliver, who made several humorous allusions to a former hard run of our huntsman's over the same line of country; allusions which called forth loud laughter from all present, including the subject of them, although I observed his merriment to be accompanied by a whimsical air of embarrassment.

I was quickly put up to the fun by one of our party, who informed me, that on the day of the fight which took place here, it was the colonel's fortune to command a battalion of militia fifteen hundred strong; he had been stationed with his battalion behind a fence, with orders to make it good as long as possible; but the general commanding on the field perceiving that the position was turned at some distance by a corps of the 56 British, sent an *aide* to the gallant colonel, directing him to change his front so as to face the advancing enemy, and retire to the next field, where his flank would be covered.

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The colonel, whose military eye now clearly perceived that his position was the evident aim of the advancing British column, whose quick step was rapidly shortening the distance between, listened to the message of his commander with some impatience, replying to the *aide* with admirable promptitude.

“Why, look'ee, major, as to changin' front and all that, I calculate you'd best do it yourself: but I dare say what you tell me about retiring is all right; I see no possible objections to that; therefore, I wish you a very good day.”

The colonel kept his word: no sooner said than done; *retiring* instantly in the direction of home, and never halting for breath until he reached the city, a march of about seven or eight miles, which was accomplished in a time that proved highly creditable to the wind and bottom of both himself and such of his corps as stuck to their chief throughout this rapid movement.

The worthy militia colonel was tried by court-martial, and broke, for this wise exercise of his 57 judgment; he still, notwithstanding, rejoices in his military title; and follows the hounds stoutly at a good healthy old age, which in all human probability would never have arrived had he waited to change his front with a veteran corps actively deploying on his flank in open field.

We drew a great extent of cover, but found no fox; indeed, if we had, the day came on too hot for either dogs or horses to have followed far. I was sufficiently delighted with my ride; the woods were beautiful, and from the Neck both the harbour and city show to great advantage.

During this visit to Baltimore, I had changed my scene of action from the “Front Street” to the “Holiday Theatre;” smaller, but more comfortable than my first quarters: this city is not so theatrical as the others I have visited, but no audience can be more agreeable; they certainly ought to like a play, for when they do come they enjoy it heartily; and during my

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present visit the house was unusually well attended. As a residence I like Baltimore much; its market is equal to any other in the States, and cheaper than either Philadelphia or New York.

The great race meeting, on the central course here, being to take place on the 21st of this 58 month, I resolved to attend it; and spent my intervening fortnight between Philadelphia and Princeton, where I passed a few days at Mr. S—n's, quail-shooting, in company with a countryman, whose society made the longest day light, and sometimes indeed did as much for the longest night. On the 18th I again quitted the hospitable Princeton, and accompanied Captain S—n to Bristol, *via* Trenton. In the latter place we found the whole community rejoicing over the triumph of the democratic or Jackson party, in favour of which the past election had proved most decisive. At Bristol we took the steamer for Philadelphia, and next day on to Baltimore for the races: the weather for the last ten days unexceptionable.

Tuesday , 21 st. —Attended the central course: a pleasant ride of six miles or so. On this day was made the first attempt at running three-year old horses with our weight and for our distance, instead of the four-mile heats usual here; the attempt was a decided failure: an evident prejudice existed against it amongst the sporting men; only six horses were entered, and of these four paid forfeit: the race became a match therefore, and went off tamely. I 59 doubt whether the experiment will ever succeed here, if even it is repeated.

Nothing can be more meagre than the ordinary accessories of an American race-course: here is no assemblage of the *beau-monde* , no populace, no four-in-hand drags, no costermongers, no donkeys, no dukes, no thimble-rig, no gipsies; in short, “no nothin’,” except a few quiet-looking hacks and a sprinkling of sulkies.

On this day, I observed about a dozen ladies in the comfortless stand: these were here in order to qualify for the race-ball, the stewards having given out that no *invites* would

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be extended to any ladies who did not, on one day at least, grace the course with their presence.

24 *th.* —A better assemblage on the course than I have yet seen: a good deal of excitement stirring in consequence of “Shark” being entered once more to run against the pet of the South, “Trifle.” The stand presented quite a goodly show of women: a greater number of pretty ones it would be difficult to collect in any city of the size.

The racer was won by the favourite “Trifle” in two four-mile heats, two of the horses entered being distanced in the first: the time of 60 the first heat was seven minutes 28 seconds; and of the second, seven minutes 27 seconds.

“Shark” again ran under great disadvantages; for, during his journey from Princeton in New Jersey, he had thrown out a bad curb on his off-hock, close to the articulation of the joint. Captain S—n was resolved, however, that there should be no disappointment, and started him accordingly. He was badly ridden, and ran lame for the first three miles, but came well in. For the second heat his rider was changed, and he made a slashing race, coming in close to the little mare. “Shark” is an Eclipse colt, of remarkable power and beauty, and will yet, I think, turn out one of the first race-horses of the country.

In the evening, the race-ball took place, and here were congregated most of the assembly-going beauty of Baltimore; but, I should say, the cathedral is the place where the greatest portion may be seen. I do not know whether or not my judgment is correct, but the general style of dress struck me to be in better taste here than I had elsewhere observed it; perhaps because it was plainer, a style that suits my fancy better than any mode having more pretension.

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A good supper was one of the provisions not least admirable; a majestic corned round of beef stood on a side-table; an object of admiration not often presented to view in the States, but of whose beauty there could be no two opinions: for myself, I did more than

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admire; I at once addressed it ardently, and for its return of tenderness can avouch: I gratefully remember it, still cherishing the fond recollection.

A compassionate countryman of my own, who saw me drinking iced champagne, bade me follow him: with that provident attention to trifles, so characteristic of Ireland on similar occasions, this thoughtful soul had not “forgotten to remember” that a little whisky-punch might be acceptable on a cold night before facing the air of morning. The compound in question had been prepared by an experienced hand, and the *material* was great indeed; I was assured that the spirit had been just fifteen years away from its native city, Cork. Honoured be its parent Still! may the turf ever burn bright beneath it, and the New World long rejoice in its fruitfulness!

“For Oh I there's a spell In its every drop, 'gainst the ills of mortality. Talk of the cordial that sparkled for Helen, Her cup was a fiction, but this a reality.”

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Sunday , 26 th. —Was called early, having an engagement to pass a couple of days with Mr. C—I at his country-house: found a gale of wind blowing, with an accompaniment of heavy rain: countermanded the vehicle I had ordered, and returned to bed, since a country excursion on this day was out of the question.

27 th. —Accompanied Mr. S—r to Carrol's Island, having arranged to visit this celebrated ducking-ground on our way to Mr. Oliver's seat.

We reached the house about eleven o'clock, the distance being sixteen miles: the cottage, which forms the head-quarters of the club of gentlemen who farm this sporting-stand, was plain enough for the most republican spirit. One sitting-room, and a couple of dormitories containing a camp-bed for each member, with pegs and racks for arms and implements, formed the whole of the appointments and furniture; but the sport is first-rate; and the plain simplicity of this *ménage* gives increased zest to the meeting, and promotes the hardihood

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essential both to the successful pursuit of game and to the healthful enjoyment of the sport.

Before the hour of dinner, we walked down on to the long neck of land where the shooters patiently abide the flight of the ducks: on one side is the Seneca, and on the other the Gunpowder river; both favourite feeding-grounds of all the water-fowl frequenting this region of creeks, rivers, and bays. About the central line of the neck of land, a dozen or so of stands are ranged at equal distances, built about four feet high, each large enough for two gunners; with shelves within for the various traps needful, a plank floor, and a couple of stools.

Here the men on duty take post; and, chewing the quid of "sweet and bitter fancies" patiently abide the moment when it may please the canvass-back to give his bosom to the breeze, and quit one river for the other. Half a dozen Retrievers, of a mixed breed, lay lounging on the grass in front of this line of watchboxes, awaiting the moment when work should be cut out for their Sagacities. These were admirably trained to their vocation, as I had an opportunity of judging whilst a looker-on here. On the occasion of a small flight, a couple of long shots were made, and a duck winged slightly: it made a good downward slant, and fell forty yards from the shore into the Seneca: at the same moment in dashed four dogs after it, helter-skelter: there was a little sea on, and the object of their search at first unseen by them: a wave of the hand from the sportsman was the signal by which their line was regulated, and for this one of the four would occasionally look back. The wounded bird, on being neared, dived, followed by the foremost dog; the others stanchly pursuing the line of their under-course, directed by the air-bubbles rising to the surface: in a little time, up came the duck ahead of its pursuers, and the dog close upon it; being hard pressed, down again went the duck, and down went another dog; and for several times was this repeated, until the chase was nearly a mile from the beach, when the dogs were recalled from a pursuit which is rarely successful unless the game has received some bodily wound, or has a limb broken,—so active and so strong are these birds in the water.

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At two o'clock we sat down to a most capital dinner,—a joint of roast-beef, fine fish, and Canvass-backs, that had been on the wing within a couple of hours, together with the Redhead, Teal, and two or three other specimens; all excellent in their way, but not comparable for delicacy, fat, or flavour with that inimitable 65 work of nature the right Canvass-back duck of these waters, where the wild celery on which they love to feed abounds, and to which they owe the delicate aromatic flavour so prized by the *gourmand*.

At five o'clock P.M., after witnessing some sport, S—r gave the word to mount, and off we set for Mr. Oliver's. An hour's ride brought us within his domain, where lofty deer-fences, blackthorn hedge-rows, well-made drives, and carefully cultivated land, formed a striking change from the wild but beautiful forest-country through which we had ridden.

We first came upon the farm-yard and offices of the estate, all well-arranged and in good order: here we left our horses, and walked on to the house,—a plain sporting-lodge, without any outward appearance or pretension. It is well situated upon a gentle eminence overlooking a couple of fine reaches of the Gunpowder river; on the land side the deer-park spreads away to the forest, being divided from the lawn by an invisible fence.

Himself an ardent lover of the sports of the field, Mr. Oliver, for a time, took infinite pains to cultivate a legitimate taste for it; but, I believe, VOL. II. F 66 without much success, although he pursued his plans on a scale and at a cost not often imitated in this country. Indeed, to say truth, men of fortune have little encouragement here to be liberal in this way; since, when a gentleman has surrounded himself with all the appliances to sporting, it is next to impossible to bring them fairly into play; or, however social his own spirit may be, yet harder to find persons possessing the time and taste for their enjoyment.

The worthy old sportsman gave me a grievous list of difficulties which he had encountered from a desire to promote on this fine estate the breed of certain animals and birds. Keepers were provided from Europe with first-rate characters; but they found all their ancient habits were to be unlearned here, and were soon completely at fault.

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The foxes killed his pheasants; the neighbouring farmers, or boatmen from the rivers, had decoyed his dogs and shot down his deer; and, after a hopeless struggle, he had given up his hounds: the deer alone he managed to domesticate and increase, his stock at present amounting to four hundred head.

No spot could have been better chosen for an experiment of this kind, as the whole estate lies 67 within a natural ring-fence, bounded by deep waters on two sides, and cut off from all neighbours on the other by a belt of close forest. Under other laws, time would be afforded for the regular improvement of this domain, and the plans of the founder might be carried out by his successors; but, as it is, the present worthy possessor once laid beneath the turf, the object of all his pains-taking and labour will, in all probability, be cut up into small farms, or be allowed once more to degenerate into forest, as may appear most profitable to his heirs.

This plan may be decidedly the most advantageous for the community at large, and I have no doubt is, since it works well here; but it has a chilly and depressing effect on the mind when viewed by one who would desire—and who does not?—to live in the creations which owe their existence to his labour or his taste, and who would revisit in the spirit the pleasant place enjoyed by his children, for whose dear sakes it was first projected.

After supper our spirited old host gave the hour of muster for five o'clock A.M., and we severally sought our beds in order to make the most of the brief time left for sleep. Much as I F 2 68 love a fox-hunt, I freely confess that this early rising did seem a mighty hard bargain.

28 *th.* —Not choosing to be laggard, as the thing was to be done, I was first afoot for the honour of Britain;—the whole party, indeed, were exceedingly punctual;—and after a hearty breakfast, away we rode for cover, with a slight crisping of frost under hoof, and a warm-looking sky just opening over head, heralding a sun that gave promise of making woodland and meadow smoke again within the next hour or two; at present, however,

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the air was nippingly shrewd, to say the least of it, and set me to blowing my fingers like a trumpeter. At the end of about an hour's ride the dogs were laid on, and almost immediately hit off the scent, and went away merrily through the wood at a slashing rate. The rider is here kept wide awake by the vicinity of the trees, many of which are spreading and low-branched, requiring a quick eye and some suppleness to keep one's hat from getting hurt when going "the pace," and, by St. Hubert! these hounds in woodland appear anything but slow.

Many dark dells and lovely open glades did we thus hurrah by, and across, with barely a glimpse ⁶⁹ in passing. In one place the path was completely blocked up by two forest-trees, apparently but recently rooted up; they had been rent from the earth, and flung here from opposite sides, as though a mere stack of rushes, in the pride of their vigour and in the full bloom of their beauty; and here they lay to wither boll, and branch, and leaf.

A whirlwind had evidently descended on this very spot probably within a few days; I say descended, for the whole circumference of the circle devastated did not exceed twenty yards at most. One other tree, yet fixed in the soil, presented an awful example of the might of the tornado. It was a chestnut of the largest size, the trunk near the base being seven or eight feet in circumference; it reclined at what seemed to have been the very focus of the whirlwind; its roots yet clung to earth; but, through the resistance thus offered, the tree had been literally twisted round and round, until it was split into laths, the trunk having the appearance of a great bundle of saplings peeled and twined together by the hand of a Titan, as lads twist withy-wands; the sturdy limbs and spreading branches, although little broken, were wound about and knotted ⁷⁰ together in a way so curiously complicated as hardly to be made comprehensible without the aid and evidence of sight.

Attracted by this singular forest wreck, I took to moralizing like the melancholy Jaques, though in a strain not quite so well worthy of record; and, losing sight of my company, was for some time thrown out. When I caught the dogs up, it was found Reynard was fairly

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gone to earth in an inaccessible ravine; so we even left him of necessity to his repose, which had been tolerably well earned by a rattling burst of full six miles on end.

In half an hour after we found again, when we got a second run, which, with a couple of short checks, held us in sport for an hour and a half, with a similar result.

By this time the day was growing smoking hot, whilst the dogs and horses were anything but fresh; so it was agreed to collect our, by this time, scattered forces, and turn the rein once again for the Lodge. To the sound of “merrie horn and loud halloo” we took our way through the pathless forest, picking up now a strayed hound and now a man astray, until, by the time home was reached, all our company was well 71 accounted for; and so ends my last fox-chase in America.

Let me here insert that my hospitable host never followed hound again: he on this day, I remember, regretted to me that a pain in his chest, with a growing difficulty of respiration, prevented his riding as he had once done; within a few weeks after he died, leaving a gap in the hospitality of Baltimore that will be felt by hundreds. Mr. Oliver was one of a class of excellent open-house men, of which class there are specimens to be found in every part of this Union, men whose frank hospitality is of itself sufficient to keep up the reputation of the country amongst strangers: many of these yet live, and I trust will long live, to the lasting honour of the States.

By birth, the subject of this notice was an Irishman; but his affections, his sympathies, his prejudices, were all on the side of his adopted country, which in his eyes had no equal in the world. It was amusing to hear him speak of his visits to Europe: to England only did he cede the right even of comparison; and on the subject of our wines he was quite a sceptic, although he had dined at the best tables, and spoke most 72 warmly of his entertainers. He protested against the wines of England being at all comparable to those of America; nay, I remember he was heretic enough to deny us the supremacy of a rump-steak, and raised his voice against the majesty of Dolly's.

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I would not have so much heeded his advancing this heterodox doctrine before Americans, had he not at the same time come well prepared to prove himself qualified to give judgment by producing, hot-and-hot, a steak that even I was compelled to admit might have been entered as A. I. at Lloyd's.

They possess in the States generally as good beef as need be desired; but, strange to say, with this exception, I have rarely met a tolerable steak, according to our idea of the matter; the secret of which is, the meat is not kept, is full of blood and fibre, and, although excellent of flavour, is not easily disposed of by those who reject the bolting principle, and desire to adhere to the more toilsome plan of mastication.

29 *th.* —Quitted the pleasant banks of the Gunpowder, and, with my old sporting companion, returned to Baltimore. Same day, embarked on board steam-boat for an excursion as far 73 as Petersburg, Virginia, *via* Norfolk; we had a fine day and night whilst steering through this great bay of the Chesapeake: went to bed late in consequence.

30 *th.* —Coming out of the cabin this morning at an early hour, found we were off the old fort, Point Comfort. Fort Calhoun, a work on which enormous outlay has been made, is not yet completed: the great difficulty appears to be the unstable nature of the bank on which the works are placed: upon the elevation of the *terre-plain* alone, nearly four thousand cubic yards of sand have been employed; all of which is shipped from the main, and deposited within the fort. It is computed that, by the time this place is fitted to receive a garrison, one hundred thousand tons of stone will have been expended on the works and breakwater which are required as an exterior support to the pressure from within.

The completion of this truly great military work must, in a great measure, depend upon the decrease of the subsidence to which the soil is liable, and for which it is necessary to pause after every year's addition of pressure, in order to proportion such a resistance as may restore the equilibrium and secure the foundation. 74 When I was here, one of these pauses in the engineering department had place; but it was said, the President had

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intimated his design of passing the hot season upon this spot, when the works would be vigorously resumed under his inspection.

Sailing up the Elizabeth river, so famous in the gallant Raleigh's story, we reached Norfolk at eight o'clock A.M., when a portion of our living freight was quickly transferred to the Virginia steamer for Charleston; another portion, to which I was attached, being, with similar promptitude, handed over to the Pocahontas ditto, bound for Richmond, the capital of Virginia. In less than an hour we were sailing back through the well-closed harbour of Norfolk; whence, crossing the Elizabeth river, we entered, in a couple of hours, the noble stream now rightly called, after its legitimate sovereign, the Powhatan, but better known as the James's river,—“a great sinking in the poetry of the thing,” though Jamie also was a king, “but no more like his brother,” &c.

Upon the southern banks rise a constant series of fine bold bluffs, mostly crowned with forest trees of great beauty, now dressed in that rich-coloured foliage so often lauded by poet and painter, but as yet, I fancy, never done full justice to. Scott and Turner, those inspired illustrators of nature, might have done this: as it is, I hope America will, before many years are past, find, amongst her own sons, pens and pencils worthy to give her beauties to the admiration of the Old World.

We arrived off the original city founded in the “Old Dominion,” having some passengers to land upon the beach, now almost as wild as when first trodden by the adventurous foot of the bold Captain Smith. Within a few yards of the landing-place stood the first Christian church erected on this mighty continent: I grieve to add, this interesting altar to the true God no longer bears his holy word: a dilapidated, but sturdy-looking square tower of brick, alone remains to mark the site of church and city; indeed, without timely care is bestowed by some gentle, generous spirit, even this most interesting memorial will speedily disappear. At present this forms one of the very few objects to which the term picturesque may properly be applied, existing in the States; and, linked as it is with

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the recollections of its gallant founders, I confess 76 it laid strong hold of my imagination, absorbing my eyes and interest as long as I could keep it in view.

The low, unhealthy site of this city proved, after a prolonged struggle, the cause, I believe, of its total desertion. Elizabeth Town, its near neighbour and once rival, is, I have been informed, fast verging to a similar condition.

Scattered along the banks on both sides of the river, are several mansions raised in the old times by the wealthy planters of the "Old Dominion," the remembrance of whose liberal expenditure and open hospitality still does honour to their state. These houses have a strong resemblance to the English squirearchical dwellings of the last century, being generally large square brick buildings, commonly flanked by low disproportioned wings; they have all hospitable-looking entrances, and flights of steps made with reference to the number and free access of the visitors rather than in keeping with the size of the house; their steep, many-chimneyed roofs are usually surrounded by a showy balustrade, and their appearance imposing and respectable, bespeaking affluence and good housekeeping.

77

One or two of these mansions stood upon fine open lawns of some extent, which swept down until their grass mingled with the waters of the gently-flowing river, offering a slope of great natural beauty, studded with clumps of goodly trees; the whole, however, having that most melancholy air of neglect that seemed to say their best days were "the days that are gone."

Under the existing law of the States those days may not be expected ever to return; and such places as are here alluded to cannot be kept up in families whose possessions, however ample originally, must be parcelled out at the demise of each inheritor, until, like poor Sir Lucius, the "mansion-house and the dirty acres" having slipped through the not

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over-tenacious fingers of the Virginian proprietor, the family honour and the family pictures will alone be left.

In reverting again to the subject of this law, which I confess I have only viewed under its most melancholy aspect, I must add that it is by no means unpopular here, being, in fact, perfectly accordant with both reason and justice, and probably, as far as the commonwealth is concerned, for the best; yet cannot I look without regret 78 on this oblivion of the once gentle of the land, and the scattering of the children of those brave men whose blood and labour redeemed the wilderness, or won it from the savage and his prey.

Quitted the Pocahontas at City-point; wherefore so called I know not, since here is neither city nor point that I could discover, but only a few buildings, and a fine natural wharf at which two noble ships were lying taking in tobacco and cotton.

Whilst waiting at the landing-place amidst the bustle incident to shifting baggage, landing passengers, and packing carriages, I witnessed a wedding assemblage that amused me highly, and was no bad sample of slavery in the Old Dominion.

From a large hut close to where we were set ashore poured forth a bevy of beauty of all colours, from the deepest jet up to the quadroon just tinged with amber. They were for the most part dressed in white, many having expensive scarfs of gay colours, and all wearing wreaths and bouquets of the most beautiful flowers, tastefully arranged and put on. I had only time to learn that it was a wedding-party, and to “guess” at the bride. I hit upon a plump, roguish-looking 79 little devil, having a skin like new copper, teeth of pearl, and eyes black as “Kilkenny's own coal.” She was, I observed, the centre of the many-tinted circle, and wore, moreover, a wreath composed of the pearl-like wax-berry in her jetty hair.

These, as I was informed, were all slaves; certainly a merrier-looking party I never saw of white folk, and, for this occasion, their chain was literally hidden under wreaths of roses;

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for a day, at least, they were very happy, and who amongst the freest can count on what the morrow may bring forth!

This was the first glance I had been allowed of the Virginian agricultural slave, and I was not ill pleased to be presented with the bright side of a condition which, to the mind of the philanthropist of every land, is sufficiently painful without the exaggerations of the political quack, or the fanatic outcry of the sectarian bigot seeking to preach a crusade of extermination against men whose slaves form their only inheritance, himself meantime, for the most selfish ends, daily planning how best to enslave the mental part of those whose credulity and weakness expose them for a prey.

80

There are few proprietors, at this day, more to be pitied than the large planters of Virginia and the Carolinas; as high-spirited, generous a race as may anywhere be encountered, but much weighed down of late by the pressure of circumstances which they cannot control, and which every year threatens to render more heavy, unless, through some miraculous interposition, the growing causes be removed or checked. The very slave property, for the inherited possession of which they are abused, is becoming in many cases a burthen. Their more southern rivals can grow cheaper, and, having a fresher soil, produce larger crops and outsell them in the market; whilst, with a slave population, they have no chance of ever becoming manufacturers.

From City-point, a well-horsed coach took us fourteen miles, under two hours, to the busy little city of St. Petersburg; where, over a cup of tea, and a good Virginy coal fire, I reviewed this journey of a couple of days, which had afforded me many subjects for admiration and reflection. I smoked my cigar, and, at an early hour, retired to my bed, of which I had a choice, there being three in the room, although, at this 81 time, exclusively appropriated to me. I soon was fast asleep, dreaming confusedly of Captain Smith, Pocahontas, Lord Cornwallis, Queen Elizabeth, Powhatan, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir George Cockburn. VOL. II. G

IMPRESSIONS OF PETERSBURG,

VIRGINIA.

“ And here I am,” said I to myself, on waking, and finding the high sun dancing the hays over the floor, as his beams stole in through the *jalousies* of my windows.

“Here I am in Virginia, the scene of so much suffering and so much gallantry,— the Eldorado of Raleigh, the refuge of the Cavalier, and the birth-place of George Washington.”

After walking through the little city, I next betook me to the bank of the gentle Apotomax, up which stream, we read, Captain Smith was first conveyed by his captors, and close by high-water mark was he landed, preparatory to his being burned *pour amuser le roi*.

The tide flows just above the town; and to this spot I strolled, and sat me down where the velvet sward rests on the stream. “And to this very spot, perchance,” said I, “did the canoes of the warriors of Powhatan bring their most 83 dreaded, and, consequently, best esteemed enemy, to die the death of a thrice-honoured Brave, or, in terms more homely, to be put to as much torture as the utmost of savage ingenuity could devise; and this prolonged as far as the nature of the captive might endure.”

A RHAPSODY.

“And as I sat, the birdis harkening thus, Methought that I herd voicis suddainly.”

Chaucer.

Here, closing my eyes on the sloops, lighters, and schooners lying at no great distance, and barring my ears against the cries of busy car-men and wharfingers, and the clanging of steam-engines, I calmly set about surveying in my mind's eye the group which ready

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imagination conjured up in colours, if not as true, at least as glowing, as the by-gone reality.

About rose the forest-crowned slopes,—for this is a region of hill and dell,—with small green belts of meadow drawn between: along the river glided, with an arrow-like track, the light canoes, when, as they touch this sylvan harbour, the until now well-suppressed joy of G 2 84 victory bursts out in exulting shouts and yells wildly terrific;—the solitude is awakened, the slumbering villages are roused, and the well-known cry of Indian triumph comes back from every teeming hill; whilst the roused deer springs trembling, from his covert, and the fierce panther crouching seeks his gloomiest lair.

The adventurous captain, to whom peril was as a household word, and fear a term unknown, is now unbound, and led on shore, walking with a free step among his captors and with a cheek unblanched, casting proud scornful looks upon forms and faces which might have scared the devil; for the roused Indian—cowed as is his present nature by a hard-bought conviction of his inferiority—is yet a fearful object to behold when decked in paint and plume and all his horribly fantastic war array.

The next scene presented the assembled council and the prolonged debate; the warriors' detail of their long secret marches, continued hunger, and anxious ambush, until the moment arrived of the Pale-face's security, and the Indian war-whoop, surprise, and triumph. The continued massacre is next detailed; ending with the settlement being left a reeking charnel 85 house, and its best champion led captive to crown the triumph with his death, the last and proudest sacrifice to Indian vengeance.

The last change was to the ready stake, near which stood the unshaken captive and the eager warriors, encircled by an admiring crowd—and woman, too, was there, lovely woman! whose angel heart no custom, however barbarous and time-honoured, can wholly harden against that tender sympathy which forms at once her highest pleasure and her most dangerous snare.

Amongst the eager crowd stood one admiring, and pitying whilst admiring, till nature, stronger than the ties of country and of custom, spurning their control, armed with irresistible persuasion the Indian maiden's tongue, and touched a new chord in the stern breast of her sire and king; at once giving to the hopeless captive life and freedom, and winning for the name of Pocahontas the immortality of a nation's gratitude: and never, surely, did nature show more beautiful than when it thus rose superior to the force of habit long confirmed; nor ever did mercy achieve a prouder triumph than when, animating woman's voice, it reprieved from the fire of the Indian warrior a captive so feared and so honoured.

86

I had, in this place, the pleasure of passing an evening with a descendant of this princess, rendered more famous by her compassionate nature than though her father had worn the diadem of the Cæsars. This is the third female I have encountered in society claiming the like honourable descent; they have each been distinguishable both in physiognomy and manner; right gentle ladies all, as ever sprung from royal lineage, savage or civilized: one of them, lately married to a northern gentleman, possesses in a remarkable degree the traits of Indian blood and beauty, with much simplicity and grace of manner, and a freshness and warmth of feeling as delightful as it is natural and original.

87

IMPRESSIONS OF PETERSBURG.—THE DESERTED CHURCH.

Upon a steep hill, situated about half a mile from the hotel, and bearing from it about south-east, stand the ruins of a well-built church, surrounded by a large grave-yard, thickly tenanted by the once citizens of Petersburg: numerous tombs, of a respectable and, indeed, venerable appearance, contribute to invest the spot with quite an Old-country character; and, viewed from the high stone wall which surrounds it, the setting sun is glorious.

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To this place my first visit was one of mere chance, but each evening after saw me at the same calm hour taking my walk amongst the tombs. I discovered that by far the greatest number of these decent dwellings of the dead were inscribed to Europeans, chiefly from Ireland and Scotland: very few were dated past the middle age of life, the majority were indeed young men,—enterprising adventurers, who had wandered hither to seek fortune, and had found 88 a grave, the consummation of all wants and desires.

Upon many of these grave-stones were displayed evidences of the lingering pride of gentle birth; recollections which, suppressed, or perhaps forgotten in the land of equality during life, seemed to have survived the grave, stronger than death. Here were set forth in goodly cutting the coat armour, crest, and motto of an old Scots or Irish house, from which the junior branches had probably received no other inheritance save this claim to *gentillesse*, with liberty to bear it to some distant soil.

How favoured was the French gentleman of whom we read, who, resigning his sword, sailed in search of gain, and was permitted to return and reclaim it before time had rusted its bright blade! How many young hearts, that, quitting home, have beat high with the prospect of an equally happy return, have been doomed to waste and wither in all the misery of hope deferred, which maketh the heart sick indeed, until care and climate closed the protracted weary struggle, and the fortune-seeker was laid to moulder in some stranger grave.

I trust that, amidst the changes each day 89 brings forth here, this ruined church will be left unprofaned, and that the tenants who sleep within its little inclosure may be left undisturbed. And I would further counsel any gentle traveller who rests for a sunset in Petersburg, to walk to this church, and contemplate its going-down from off the lofty stile leading over the western wall of the grave-yard: and when he shall behold the forest vale below changed—as I have more than once beheld it—into a lake of living gold, and over this shall watch the shadows of evening steal till the last bright fringe is withdrawn, and the brown forest again is seen to cover all the land—when, I say, this has been witnessed,

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the stranger (if a woman, certainly) will hardly fail to thank me for this discovery; for such I do verily consider it to be, as much as was Colon's first lighting on this huge sliver of our nether world.

I visited this little city at a period when cholera was making frightful ravages on every side, and a consequent depression was to be expected amongst the community. I was nevertheless greatly pleased with the situation of the place, and with the air of business that appeared to animate its citizens despite the frightful disease ⁹⁰ by which they were assailed; and indeed, so far as a sojourner of five days may be permitted to express an opinion, I should say that the evidences of the city's prosperity and growing prospects were many and cheering.

I in this place and in the neighbourhood saw a good deal of slavery, and heard much more: the victims themselves (so called) seem here a merry, light-hearted, and lightly-worked race, and I was a good deal surprised to find that in many instances their possessors were looked upon as the real sufferers.

Some of these, it is certain, are not to be envied this description of property, for they are often compelled to keep many active mouths for one useful hand: yet here are numbers of such persons who do not like to sell these household knaves, familiar as they have been from the cradle to the day of inheritance, and mixed up with every recollection of home and its inmates, although they would gladly renounce the present possession to be assured against all after claims.

Nov. 5 th. —Quitted Petersburg on a delightful morning, and as far as Norfolk made a quick trip; but, shortly after leaving this place, we ⁹¹ encountered a very heavy gale of wind that endured all night, and compelled us next evening to put into Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, for a fresh supply of fuel: that night, the gale moderating, we reached Baltimore about fourteen hours later than was anticipated.

7 th. —Took the steamer for Philadelphia, where I rested for a day; and thence on to New York, which I learn is exceedingly gay,—a circumstance I do not regret to hear, as I am about to sojourn here for a couple of weeks previous to my departure for the South.

This I discover to be the commencement of the New York gay season; and here is, at present, no lack of amusement,—two theatres, an Italian Opera, various public assemblies, besides the ordinary resources of balls and family parties: of these there are three or four taking place every week; and I do not think the New-Yorkers are ever seen to better advantage than in the exercise and enjoyment of the lavish hospitality usually dispensed on these occasions. Here is no fobbing you off with a meagre account of jellies and a cup of lemonade: you find, on the contrary, without fail, a sensible supper, abounding with substantials for the hungry as well as trifles for the sentimental; the best wines of the cellar are paraded in abundance, together with a punch such as I never elsewhere remember to have encountered. Now and then, a little set would get drawn together at these suppers, which it was no easy matter to disperse.

Nov. 22 nd. —Embarked for Charleston, South Carolina, on board the William Gibbons, steamer. We had a series of hard blows until the evening of the 24th, when, getting to the south-ward of Cape Hatteras, the weather gradually moderated, and, early in the morning of the 25th, we were landed in Charleston; but so excessive was the cold, that I conceived it possible the captain had made a mistake, and that we were at some Charleston, in Greenland, or Icy Cape. The weather either was, or appeared to be, much colder than in New York when we departed.

93

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

Went to a hotel kept by a coloured family, named Jones, and was appointed to comfortable summer-quarters in an outbuilding, where I received an immediate call from Mr. R. R—d, a cousin of my friend, W. R—d, of New York; and with this gentleman I

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dined at an excellent boarding-house where there were three or four excellent Frenchmen resident. Here I spent a pleasant evening, despite the severe cold.

28 *th*. —After two days of weather for the severity of which no people can be worse provided, we are relieved by as lovely a day as can well be imagined; the thermometer is at 77 degrees, the breeze bland, the atmosphere of singular purity.

On this day I visited the theatre, a barn; the building originally erected for this purpose being changed into a school of anatomy: so cutting up is still the order of the day; only the practice is no longer confined to the poets, but extended to subjects generally. After arranging 94 with my manager, I took a ride, making a rapid survey of the town and its immediate vicinity.

Vegetation still appears in progress; the orange trees are flourishing, the grass looking green, and only the forest appears clad in the sober brown of winter.

At this season Charleston is dull to a proverb; most of the planters, with their families, being in the country, and the rest preparing to follow; the city is, therefore, nearly abandoned to the cotton-shippers; and so it will remain until the month of February, when the race-meeting draws the whole State together; and, for a period of four or five weeks, few places, as I learn, can be more lively or more sociable. After this date, the country families once more return to their plantations, where they can remain with safety until about the second week in April: after which date the choice between country and city may be summed up in the words of Shakspeare, to “go and live, or stay and die;” since to stay is assuredly to die, after once the malaria is fairly in movement. Formerly, the winter campaign used to be prolonged until the middle of June; but of late years the time 95 has been, from some cause or other, gradually abridged by common consent, until now the 15th of April is considered the last day of security.

The forest rides leading on either hand from the main road to the Cooper and Ashley rivers by which the sandy neck the city occupies is flanked, are, though flat, very delightful.

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Plants and flowers of rare beauty and in great variety abound here; the wild vine and other climbing plants are drawn from tree to tree; and the live-oak, sycamore, hickory, with the loftiest pines, altogether form avenues down which the eyes of a stranger wander with delight, and in which on these delicious calm days it is a joy to linger. My rides were sometimes solitary; and it was on these occasions I most enjoyed these forest paths, now as healthful as beautiful; yet, let only a few months pass away, and to sleep one night within their shade would be death as certain as though it were spent beneath the boughs of the poisonous Upas.

I could hardly conceive the possibility of such a baneful change, as, on a bright day of December, I sauntered carelessly along, watching the sun dancing in long lines of light over the smooth water, and an atmosphere before me ⁹⁶ glowing, as though a veil of gold tissue had been drawn above the forest. Yet so it is; the overseers alone remain upon the plantation after sunset, and amongst these the numerous deaths, as well as the cadaverous hue of the survivors, afford unquestionable testimony of the peril incurred by such a residence.

To the negro alone this air appears congenial, as the lively look of the chubby little imps that fill every Cabin fully indicates. It is impossible not to be struck by the contrast between the looks of these children of the sun and the degenerate offsets of northern men; I have often observed with feelings of sorrow the sickly aspect of the children of some roadside store-keeper, or publican of the white race, as they sit languidly before their parents' door, with sallow parchment skins and lack-lustre eyes, the very emblems of malaria, possessing neither the strength nor the desire to follow those active sports natural and in fact necessary, at their age: whilst, sporting about or near them, might be observed the offspring of their slaves; the elder ones, with hardly any covering, pursuing each other, shouting and grinning from ear to ear; the youngsters, quite naked perhaps, rolling on the kitchen floor, ⁹⁷ or creeping about in the dust like so many black beetles, almost as broad

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as long. Despite their degraded condition, I have at such times been tempted to exclaim, "Surely this must here be the most enviable lot!"

This picture, however, must not be applied to the wealthy portion of the landed proprietors, who either migrate north with each season, or else seek the shelter of the dry sandy soil of the Pine-barrens, and on their heights breathe health and life; whilst below and around, at no great distance, stalk disease and death.

Amongst this class, on the contrary, I have often been surprised to find children whose elastic forms and ruddy complexions would have been noticeable even in the health-giving air of Britain; and indeed, taken as a whole, I should say that the population of Charleston City, the capital of this deadly country, wears as fresh a look, and presents as many hale, hearty old persons, as any of the northern cities of this continent. I was, perchance, the more struck with this fact from having expected the very reverse.

An air of greater antiquity prevails throughout this city than may be discovered in any other I have visited in the States; I should conceive VOL. II. H 98 it to be just in the condition the English army left it; I did not see a large house that appeared of newer date; and the churches, guard-house, &c. must be the same.

This population apparently has slept whilst their persevering brethren of the North, to use one of their familiar sayings, have "continually gone ahead" with an energy of purpose admirable as irresistible. This difference can, I fancy, be accounted for in two ways: first, much may be fairly set down to climate, which limits the business months here to about six; next, the revolution found here a sort of aristocratic association of wealthy proprietors, the produce of whose estates furnished them with ample means, but whose business habits were limited to periodical settlements with their factors or brokers. The revolution, and the changes consequent upon it, awoke the spirit and incited the hope of every man to whom the absence of inherited wealth supplied an impetus to labour; and the populated portions of these States became as a hive thronged with an active, money-seeking swarm,

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by which the idle and the inert were thrust aside before they became awake to their changed condition, or heard a murmur of the tide whose waves were encircling them about on every side.

The law of primogeniture having ceased to exist, estates became subject to division and subdivision, until the growing families of the original proprietors found themselves unable to continue planters with any prospect of advantage. In such cases the property was sold, and the proceeds divided according to law, or in conformity to the will of the testator, and so passed into strange hands; whilst with straitened means the members of the family of the once wealthy planter removed to some city, and here clung to their original habits and prejudices; nor, except in a few instances, ever turned their thoughts to trade, at once the source and secret of their changed condition; and into the hands of whose active agents, in fact, had passed the home and the inheritance of their fathers.

Comparatively few of the old families now remain who are wealthy; but happily these have mostly become aware of the effects certain to follow the existing state of society and laws, as well as of the necessity of providing their children with the means of warding off their worst consequences. Now, therefore, the sons of the best H 2 LC 100 men of the South are wisely placed in counting-houses in the great trading cities; or, however good their prospects may be, are bred up to some useful calling, which in this country will, if pursued with industry, ensure decent competence if not always wealth.

The condition of numbers of men, among those of the South who have never been trained to this laudable course, is at this day one that excites great commiseration. How many fine intelligent-looking young fellows may be observed lounging about in the most hopeless idleness, easily to be distinguished for the sons of gentlemen, wearing in a half slovenly way, but with a flashy air, expensive clothes and ill-assorted articles of finery, without possessing either means or energy to cultivate those manly dissipations which in some sort redeem the idleness of our European youth, and at certain seasons withdraw them from mere pursuits of sensuality; making that at least graceful, if not useful to the

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community, which here becomes truly hideous, as the reckless air and wasted features of most of these unfortunate hereditary idlers sufficiently attest.

I do not anywhere know a class more to be pitied in a country, wherein the idle man finds neither sympathies, pursuits, nor associates, from which he can derive emulation, improvement, or even amusement worthy a rational being; it is, let me add, an exceedingly small class, and of necessity must, I conceive, decrease rapidly; at present its members ought to be regarded by parents as moral landmarks, living to warn the wise and worthy from that course on which their hopes have foundered.

The young ladies appear possessed of the same *naïve*, simple, yet perfectly easy manners which characterise their countrywomen of the North, where indeed they are principally educated and instructed in all those graceful accomplishments which embellish and refine our life. It appears upon a first view strange that, superior as they are, they do not exercise a greater influence over the youth of the other sex; but this may be ascribed to the fact, that they are brought out before either their judgment or knowledge of the world are sufficiently matured to make them aware of the existence of certain abuses, or of their own power of reforming them. Then again, marrying very young, they commonly quit society, in a great measure, at the moment the influence of their example might be of the greatest service to it.

102

A TOTAL ECLIPSE OF THE SUN.

Nov. 30 th. — Just entered my room, after having been for the last hour engaged waiting for, and watching the progress of, one of those startling phenomena which in the earlier ages were wont to be hailed as especial manifestations of the Creator's anger,—whose influence has been known to stay the onset of engaging hosts, making men deaf to the sound of the trumpet, and dead to the yet more stirring influence of their own furious passions, when standing armed before the array of their enemies,—which have been

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known to scare the robber from his spoil, and join in renewed amity the hands of long hating brothers.

And even at this day, when natural causes have been assigned for the appearance of this wonder, and science has learned to anticipate the minute and the effect of its coming, still, what power does it exercise over the imagination of the mass! Few minds can watch the progress of such an event, natural though it be, untouched by awe, unelevated to that Being who is the cause 103 of all; the hearts of the simple and the profound, of the sinner and of the saint, alike own the influence of the hour, and render up nature's involuntary homage to nature's God.

It had been already calculated that at Charleston and in its immediate vicinity this eclipse would be total; and, consequently, here were drawn together, from different points, several scientific men, astronomers and others, for the purpose of observing its progress.

Nothing could have chanced more happily for their object than the present state of the atmosphere. At meridian the sky was cloudless; the page of heaven lay open, fair, to all who could read therein: at the same time the thermometer stood at 75 degrees in the shade; but from this hour until two P.M., when the obscuration was complete, continued gradually to fall, remaining stationary at 50 degrees.

As the great luminary became slowly covered, the shadows kept deepening, until, at last, day was exchanged for the sober effect of moonlight: thin filmy clouds then became observable, slowly sailing beneath the diminished orb; one by one the stars came twinkling forth; the household poultry gathered uneasily together in the 104 yard, and retired to their roosting-places; the hurrying tread of frequent passers gradually ceased; the buzz of the thousands of eager watchers died away; the voice of man was silent, or heard but in whispers, and the profoundest silence reigned throughout the city; till, at the moment when the interposition was complete, the bells of the different churches tolled out, adding a thrilling solemnity to the scene.

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At this point of the eclipse the effect was grand beyond description: a well-defined, narrow circle, of the most brilliant crimson colour, surrounded for a few moments the darkened orb, which then seemed to diverge into a glorious halo composed of equal rays: but only for a minute was this clearly definable; the rays quickly faded from the side of the luminary once more given to view; and again a soft daylight, like the gradual spreading of a fine dawn, chased away the night shadows that had thus prematurely usurped day's fair dominion.

From every quarter was now heard the cheerful crowing of the "early cock;" the fowls came briskly forth, pluming themselves in the recovered sunshine; the tramp of numerous passers-by was again echoing from the street; and again the cheerful buzz of human voices filled the air.

This was the first time I had ever witnessed a total eclipse; and I confess I fully shared the general interest with which all about me appeared inspired. Upon the covered gallery fronting the south, the inmates of the hotel were all assembled; whilst, in the yard below, were congregated the servants and household slaves of the family, with upturned anxious faces, now watching the progress of the phenomenon, and now casting their eyes upon the group of white men, to gather from their looks the effect likely to follow this hiding of the sun, in whose presence the negro alone may be said to live.

Although the recovered luminary shone bright as before its obscuration, it was with diminished power, for it continued chilly during the rest of the day and night; nor was it before noon on the 1st of December that the mercury recovered from its sudden depression.

Dec. 8 th. —The President's message on the subject of the indemnity due from France to America was received in this city, where it appears to produce a startling effect: I should say, ten voices out of every eleven I have heard speak on the subject, deprecate any idea of a rupture with France. The merchants and travellers of that nation, of whom

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there are numbers here, appear somewhat indignant at the tone assumed by the chief of the government, which they affirm to be insulting to the nation, with which a Frenchman, in all places, whatever may be his political sentiments or present condition, never fails completely to identify himself. This respect for France is a gallant sentiment of theirs, and shows particularly well when they are far from the country whose honour they assert, standing a few amongst many.

Dec. 9 th. —I engaged a pilot-boat to run down the coast south as far as Savannah, which, although some hundred miles out of my line, I had set down as a place to be seen. My Charleston managers, two worthy industrious souls, hearing of my route, begged of me to permit them to take the pilot-boat off my hands for the transport of their company, on condition that I would halt in Savannah for three or four representations. To this I was readily moved by their strongly-expressed desire, and gave up 107 my little schooner, becoming a passenger where I had looked to reign sole proprietor; the whole thing was arranged in the course of the day. The wind continued steadily about north-east and by the evening, the freight, composed of the paraphernalia, was shipped and stowed; the company assembled; and, after sundry holdings-on for some music-book forgotten in the orchestra, or some actor left at his lodging, we in about one hour after the time fixed by the pilot for the latest minute of tide, slipped the hawsers of the smart little Washington, and fell off into the stream of ebb.

When we got on the bar, it was almost low-water: the schooner drew eight feet abaft, and we had just nine feet soundings over the bank; we cleared all, however, after a minute of some anxiety, owing to there being a heavy northerly swell setting in, which appeared each moment to increase.

Once over the bar, we got nearly before the wind with a staggering breeze, and went along right merrily. Our representative of all the Juliets and Julias had a pretty voice; the Kemble of the company, a fine, tall, good-tempered fellow, sang duets and trios well enough for a 108 tragedian; a chorus was easily mustered out of the remaining members of the corps

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who continued fit for duty; and we roused old Ocean with "When the wind blows," until he became too obstreperous in his emulation, and fairly drowned our melody.

The wind did blow, at last, in such a sort as to disperse our chorus; the schooner was about forty tons measurement, sharp as a wedge below, and not over three feet and a half between decks; the cabin was about the same square measurement, with two little berths, into which we stowed the ladies, the managers and the principals occupying the remaining space; in the hold, over the ballast the rest of the company stowed themselves away.

To penetrate either of these close quarters I found utterly impossible: all were ill save the stout tragedian; comedy, farce, and opera, ballet and band, the manager, his subjects and his properties, were alike disorganized and overwhelmed. I resolved therefore on keeping the deck as I best could, by the help of a stout dread-nought, a pocket-full of cigars, and a mild infusion of old cognac, provided for me by a considerate friend.

Within two hours, the wind had gradually increased until it blew a gale: the foresail was taken in, the mainsail close-reefed, and the saucy boat flew along before it like a gull, the following seas just kissing the edge of her taffrail, as she slipped away before them.

Our pilot, the owner of the craft, was a careful and steady old Bristol-man, but somewhat nervous and timid: his regular crew consisted of two fine white boys, apprentices, and a couple of stout slaves: we had, in addition, taken on board an old apprentice of the pilot's, who as we started had volunteered to accompany his once master. This was a droll subject, a regular long-sided dare-devil of a South Carolinian: he was full three sheets in the wind when we sailed, and managed to keep the steam up by the contributions liberally proffered during our short season of festivity.

As the gale freshened this fellow showed out; when a sail was to be handed or a reef taken in, he was a crew in himself; one of the coolest and smartest fellows I ever met, but somewhat profane in his humour, and rather hard upon the nerves of the chief: few of his sayings will bear repetition; but the exaggeration of his figures of speech, the wild fantastic

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spirit of reckless 110 humour by which he was governed, I shall not lose sight of; during the night I supplied him with cigars, and with his oddness wore away the time. One little bit of dialogue will describe this wild man of the water better than any words of mine. We had already taken in two reefs when the pilot gave directions "Stand by to lower away the peak."

"Ay, ay," sang out his *aide*, as he sprang nimbly to the foot of the mast; adding, "but what the devil are you going to do now, stranger?"

"Bear a hand!" cried the senior, "take in another reef!"

"What! you're afraid little Wash-the-water goes through it too fast, are you, old man?"

"To be sure: I don't want to get off the bar before day-light."

"Don't you? Why then you must tie her fast to a stump, my friend; for if you let her go ahead, she'll make the light long afore you can see your way across the bar, between the white water."

"The wind between now and then may slack a little," urged the senior, looking back over the seas now rolling very high, as though he wished the time was come.

111

"Well, that's a curious kind o' guess you've made, any way, old stranger," laughed his tormentor, clapping his foot against the companion, and taking the pull of a giant on the reef-tackle as he spoke. "If you ever know'd where to look for the fag-ind of a north-easter at this time o' year, it's more nor you ever larn'd me to do, and that I do say wasn't doin' your honest duty by me. I'd lay a pistreen this breeze would last the Washy, to the south'ard o' the Tortugas, and well you know it too."

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“Well, suppose it would, I can't help it—what would *you do* , Matthew? It blows like thunder: I can't tell how fast she's going,—I don't want to over-shoot the light, and then have to thrash back through such a smother of a sea.”

“Well, now I see what you're at; and it's all right, I guess,” observed Matthew, with affected deference of tone. “I know the varmint's pretty slick, but I never should ha' thought of her crawling over ninety miles in four hours:”—it was at this time about midnight. “You ask me what I'd do; why now I'll tell you, if I was you, I'd say, Mat. here take the stick,—it wouldn't be the first time,—and I'd crawl out o' that hole and shake myself; and then I'd ask this gentleman for a cigar and a mouthful of liquor, and then 112 I'd clap a bit o' the square mainsail on her, and lift the sloppy little slut out of it a yard or two; that's what I'd do: and now what have you to say agin it, he?”

“You have a square mainsail in the craft, I suppose?” here inquired I, by way of taking Matthew off the old man a little.

“Why, I don't know; maybe the old man has had it cut up to make trousers: but there used to be one when I was in her, and such an omni-po-tent tearer,—it had a hoist to heaven, it sheeted home to h—ll, outspread the eternal universe, and would ha' dragged a frigate seventeen knots through a sea o' treacle, by the living jingo! Why, I've seen it afore now raise the leetle hooker clean out o' water, and tail off, with her hanging on, like the boat to a balloon.”

With the least possible sail we continued to slip along at a slapping rate, and long before daylight made the light at the entrance of the Savannah river: had our pilots known this bar as familiarly as they did that of Charleston, we might have run in; as it was, we hove-to in a very heavy sea for upwards of two hours, and the Washington behaved under these circumstances to admiration; she lay-to like a sea-bird, now floating 113 buoyant upon the foamy crest of the great seas, then sliding down their sides into the trough where they would threaten to enclose her.

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The senior pilot never quitted the little square hole sunk over the run, wherein he stood to steer, although sometimes, when she rolled to windward and made a dip, the green seas would make a rush over her quarter, and sweep the deck a foot deep; luckily there was nothing to hold the water; but for fourteen hours the old man's hand never left the tiller.

Soon after daylight we once more filled-away, and brought the little jewel of a boat snugly by-the-wind, hauling in for the bar, although not without some ugly doubts; for Matthew and the old man could not agree, and the sea all along in-shore looked plaguy white and ugly as we neared the low land: however, in we flew, having breakers on either hand, over near to be pleasant, and in a few minutes, entering the river close by the wreck of a large brig, were in comparative security.

Our counsel was even now divided about the true channel, until one of the boys, who had made a couple of trading trips up to the city, took it VOL. II. I 114 upon his own responsibility to read the buoys and landmarks as far as he knew them. Keeping the lead constantly going, we quietly jogged up the river with a stiff breeze; the country bleak and bare, a region of half-redeemed swamp and lagoon: being in smooth water, our party all turned out; stores were rummaged, and a good breakfast provided upon the deck of the boat so recently swept by the green seas: the past was forgotten, the sun shone out, and again the glee and merry song floated through the air of morning.

Matthew had by this become quite sober, and took his spell at the helm; admitting, evidently to his senior's satisfaction, that it certainly was "a real nullifier of a breeze, enough to blow the leetle Washy into pieces."

About six miles off the city, we got at last set fast; when, growing impatient of such close confinement, I requested the captain to set me on shore. The thing was voted impracticable; but I decided to make the attempt, and was accordingly rowed to the right bank of the river, when I took to the swamp, hungry and savage enough to have eaten any alligator fool-hardy enough to assail me. After a hard scramble, together with 115 two

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or three plunges waist deep, I escaped suffocation, and gained one of the banks dividing and draining these vast fields: following this, unimpeded by other difficulty, I reached, after half an hour's march, the high land; and, attracted by the sounds of merriment, mounted the first bluff, where I found a large barn occupied by a couple of score laughing, noisy negroes employed thrashing out the crop: from one of these I received directions how to reach Savannah, whose spires were clearly to be seen.

At the end of about five miles, I found myself an exceedingly dirty gentleman entering upon the long well-shaded mall which protects the river-front of the city. I was, by this, tolerably tired of my walk; for the light sandy soil was ankle-deep, and the sun broiling. After passing one block or range of counting-houses, I gladly read on the first of the next range the name of a friend from whom I felt certain of welcome.

A capital dinner, and a glass of the finest Madeira in the States, made light of past labour; and during the evening I was glad to learn that the Washington had arrived with her freight all safe and well. My friend Matthew now informed me he had given the boys in the boat directions I 2 116 to wait for me half an hour, which they did, fully anticipating that I should never clear the canebrake and swamp lying between the river and the fields; and, in sooth, it required some perseverance.

117

SAVANNAH.

With this little city I was exceedingly pleased. The weather was remarkably mild, the sun shone brightly; and I took much pleasure in wandering along the quiet sandy streets, flanked by double rows of the Pride-of-India tree.

Except the range of buildings immediately facing the river, the dwellings are nearly all detached; each surrounded by its own offices, many by a garden filled with orange and other evergreens: they are mostly built on the true Southern plan, of two stories, with a broad gallery running entirely round; being of wood and painted white, with bright green

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jalousies , they give to the streets a gay and lively look, which is exceedingly cheerful and attractive.

Here are, however, several very ambitious-looking dwellings, built by a European architect for wealthy merchants during the palmy days of trade; these are of stone or some composition, 118 showily designed, and very large, but ill-adapted, I should imagine, for summer residences in this climate. They are mostly deserted, or let for boarding-houses, and have that decayed look which is so melancholy, and which nowhere arrives sooner than in this climate.

Here is a very well designed and well-built theatre, but, like the houses I speak of, a good deal the worse in consequence of neglect: the materials and design were, I understood, all imported from England, at a prodigious cost when the smallness of the population is considered; but it is now, I fancy, rarely occupied.

On this occasion I had the pleasure of seeing it well filled for the four nights I acted, and had to regret my time was of necessity so limited, since my audience was as merry and intelligent as heart could wish.

My days were passed at the hospitable house of Mr. G—n, where I encountered many pleasant people; and was attended by the sleekest, merriest set of negroes imaginable, most of whom had grown old or were born in their master's house: his own good humoured, active benevolence of spirit was reflected in the faces of his servants.

119

The trade of this port was at one period great; it offered at this time a cheerful prospect of well-lined quays, and I was glad to learn that the prospects of the community were again brightening; indeed, the high prices of produce this year are infusing additional life and spirit into the whole Southern community: the speculators in cotton are ardent, and the prices continually on the rise.

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On the 15th, left this in a steamer called the George Washington, to proceed up the Savannah river to Augusta; a distance, by this route, of rather more than two hundred miles.

I got on board late at night, went immediately to bed, and, on coming on deck the next morning, found myself in the bosom of a dense forest, the trees growing as it were out of the very water, and all of them, with the exception of the gloomy cypress, still thickly covered with their gay autumnal foliage: numbers of the willow tribe were as fresh and green as in early springtime, at which season a sail up this river must be overpoweringly fragrant: even now, although offering little change of character for two hundred miles, it was not wholly devoid of interest; for it is constantly upon the wind, the longest 120 reach limiting your view to a few hundred yards.

Our boat was small and very deeply laden, making hardly four miles an hour; but she had few passengers, was capitally provisioned, and possessed an indefatigable and most obliging commander, so that the tedium consequent upon such a progress had at least no nuisance superadded to make it more irksome.

Every few miles we brought up to take in a fresh supply of fuel; we were thus enabled constantly to stretch our legs in the forest; but throughout the whole distance so exactly similar were most of these landings that a light-hearted countryman of mine, whose company I was lucky enough to have, constantly used, on stopping, to say,

"I'd like to be sure we haven't gone back; and that this place is itself, and not the other."

We went ahead however, though but slowly; and after passing four nights and three days upon this miniature Mississippi,—for the characteristics are exactly similar, even to the owls and alligators,—we were safely landed at Augusta; perhaps, the most enterprising and most thriving community in Georgia.

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By Mr. G—n's recommendation, I proceeded to the Planters' Hotel, kept by Judge Hales, a kind man and a worthy magistrate; and found that, in anticipation of my arrival, he had already secured me the earliest chance for a vacancy on the way-bill for Millidgeville.

Augusta consists of one very wide street, a couple of miles in length, and composed of a mixed description of building; many of the houses and stores being of wood, and exceedingly humble in appearance; others are built of brick, large, handsome, and well fitted up, in emulation of those in the northern cities; all, however, exhibited evidences of active and successful trade.

This was the high season for the arrival here of cotton from the plantations in the interior, whence it is forwarded by the railroad to Charleston, or down the river to Savannah. The streets were crowded with planters, and the suburbs with waggons either empty or laden; and these, together with their hardy drivers and assistants, who camp in all weathers amidst the forest, make a picture at once interesting in a commercial point of view, and in itself singularly striking.

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As in the smallest American towns, I here met with an excellent bathing establishment; and found a hot bath, after being mewed up three days on board the steamer, a most joyous luxury.

The Planters' Hotel afforded an excellent dinner and a good bottle of sherry; and in the evening the mail-stage arrived, when to my great joy I was informed my place was safe, although there were many expectants necessarily left to abide the next stage. At this season of the year the current setting South is enormous: every stage from the North is laden; and, once thrown out, a man may have many days to wait before he gets a chance of proceeding.

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19 *th.* —At six P.M. quitted Augusta, with nine other victims, in a stage otherwise laden with mail-bags and luggage. About an hour before we started rain set in, and the weather-wise prognosticate that the fine season is now at an end for this year. I certainly have no right to complain, but could desire the rain might yet be postponed for a few days. The roads were from the start as bad as could be, and the heavy fall was not likely to improve that part of our route which was to come.

We passed in the course of this night several 123 camps of emigrants, on the move from the Carolinas and Georgia: they managed to keep their fires blazing in the forest, in spite of the falling shower; occasionally might be seen a huge pine crackling and burning throughout as it lay on the ground, whilst, ranged to windward, stood the waggons and huts of the campers.

The rich alluvial lands of Alabama, recently belonging to the Indian reserves, and now on sale by government or through land-speculators, are attracting thousands of families from the washed-out and impoverished soil of the older Southern States; and, during this and the preceding season, the numbers moving along this and the other great lines towards the South-west are incredible, when viewed in reference to the amount of population given to the countries whence the emigrants are chiefly derived.

At a season like the present, the sufferings of these families must be considerable. The caravan usually consists of from two to four tilt waggons, long and low-roofed; each laden, first with the needful provisions and such household gear as may be considered indispensable; next, over this portion of the freight is stowed the family of the emigrant planter, his wife, and commonly a 124 round squad of white-haired children, with their attendants: on the march these vehicles are preceded and surrounded by the field slaves, varying in numbers from half a dozen to fifty or sixty, according to the wealth of the proprietor; a couple of mounted travellers commonly complete the cavalcade, which moves over these roads at the rate of twelve or fifteen miles a day. At night, or when the team gives out, or the waggons are fairly stalled, or set fast, the party prepares to

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camp: the men cut down a tree for fire, and with its branches make such rude huts as their time and ingenuity may best contrive; the females prepare the evening meal, and perform such domestic duties as may be needful. On these occasions I have frequently passed amongst or halted by them, and have been surprised at the air of content and good-humour commonly prevailing in their rude camps, despite of the apparent discomfort and privation to which they were exposed.

Many of the negroes, however, I am informed, are exceedingly averse to a removal from the sites on which they have been bred, and where their connexions are formed: in these cases, planters who are uncertain of the personal attachment ¹²⁵ of their slaves, generally dispose of them amongst their neighbours: when they are really attached to their owners, however, there is little difficulty experienced in their removal.

In most of the parties I encountered, I should say, judging fairly by their deportment and loud merriment, despite the great fatigue and constant exposure, the affair was taken in a sort of holiday spirit, no way warranted by their half-naked miserable appearance.

Thus they crawl onward from day to day, for weeks or months, until they have reached that portion of the forest, or cane-brake, fixed upon for the plantation: and here the enterprising settler has to encounter new toil, and a long series of privations, cheered however by the hope, seldom a delusive one, of ultimate wealth accumulating to the survivors of the party; for, unhappily, health is the sacrifice, I believe, generally paid for the possession of the fat soil lying along these sluggish rivers.

Along the whole line of our route from Augusta in Georgia to the banks of the Alabama, we found the road covered by parties of this description; and, according to the opinions of well-informed residents, with whom I conversed on this ¹²⁶ subject, not fewer than ten thousand families have quitted the two Carolinas and Georgia during the course of this season.

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Amongst these families journeying to the land of promise, inspired by hopes for the future and cheered by the presence of those on whom they relied for their fulfilment, we now and then met little parties of broken-men retracing their sad steps toward the homes they had consigned to strangers: of these, one family, which we encountered camping near the banks of a swollen river whose bridge we were compelled to repair before we could cross it, excited deep commiseration. The establishment consisted of a single covered waggon, a small open cart, and half-a-dozen slaves, principally women: its conductress was a widow, not exceeding thirty years of age, having by her side five children, one an infant.

Within a year after the location of his family on the banks of the Black-warrior, her husband, we learned, had died; and the widow was thus far on her way back to Virginia, accompanied by such of her household as remained to her; this was the 22nd of December, and there yet remained five hundred miles of her journey unperformed. I know my heart was sore as I contemplated her forlorn condition, and thought upon the toilsome way yet dividing her from the changed home she sought.

Between Millidgeville and Macon the route became all but impassable: at each mile we anticipated a stand-still; the rain was incessant; the creeks were flooded, and the bridges in an indescribable condition. We were frequently compelled to alight and walk, being in momentary expectation of an overturn: and so we journeyed on, our numbers reduced to six, in order that a lighter vehicle might be adopted. The way in which this drafting was effected was on principles perfectly fair, and submitted to without a murmur: at Sparta, the agent informed us that only six passengers could be taken on; and that, unless we arranged otherwise, he should strike off the last three names entered in the way-bill; as being the juniors in this hard service: luckily for me, I had just the magic three under my name,—a piece of good fortune that rescued me from a sojourn at Sparta, which, with all due deference to its venerable name, I could not contemplate without a shudder.

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Six hardier or better-humoured men, if I may venture to include myself in the number, never 128 roughed it through Georgia in company. At one pass, through a swamp lying a few miles north of Macon, we were turned out, at a hut where large pieces of light-wood, as the pitch-pine is called, were procured for the party; from this point we were instructed to make a cut through the forest, whilst the lightened coach followed the road. We struck into the line pointed out, guided by one of the party who had journeyed this road before; and six merrier men, having less cause for mirth, might not have been found within this fair state.

After floundering along for an hour or so, we saw the torches of the stage, and heard the halloo of the driver: hence, without mischance, we reached Macon before daylight; and here one of our company knocked up through cold and over-weariness; a vacant place was thus afforded for the judge of the district-court, in whom we found a well-informed and most intelligent companion.

Nullification was the subject for the morning, and much was advanced *pro* and *con*. ; its opponents being two New York men who had been my fellow-passengers from Augusta. On this occasion, as I have always observed amongst Southern men, the right of separation from the 129 Union was vehemently insisted upon, even whilst the policy of such a movement was deprecated; the principle, in fact, of nullification was maintained by those who were against the practice of such an experiment.

The condition of justice upon these wild frontiers was next freely canvassed, and was on all hands admitted to be weak and short-armed enough: very few, in truth, seem in criminal cases to seek for or approve of its interference, except in some so monstrously atrocious that no sympathy can be felt for the criminal; and even in such cases his flight, if he condescends to such a movement, is a matter of small difficulty.

Most of the many murders committed are the result of quarrels or personal rancour. Jealousy of a favoured rival, a gambling or a political dispute ends in a defiance, mutual

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and deadly, the ever-ready dirk affords present means; or, if the interposition of the bystanders prevents this, one of the party shoots down the other on the road or at his own door; when, if the slain man has friends, the feud is adopted by them, and the first homicide is revenged by another, or several, as may be. These affrays are by convention termed duels; and, in fact, as on our borders a century VOL. II. K 130 back, each man rights with his own hand his wrongs "wherever given," in street or forest, in the court of justice or within the house of prayer.

In the mean time, notwithstanding all this, the frontiers flourish; trade yearly increases; and, as well as I can learn, civilization and security also slowly but steadily march onward; but, from the very nature of the country, it must be long before the wild spirits congregated here can be subjected to the wholesome rule of well-administered laws.

At Talboton we found six passengers, the freight of the stage preceding us, which had been upset in the swamp the night previous; one of them had a couple of ribs broken, and all were badly bruised. One young man begged to be taken on the seat of our coach, which was readily permitted, with cautions against his venturing on such an experiment. The additional mail-bags were also to be carried forward; and the largest were accordingly stowed into the coach, in the space usually considered by passengers as designed for their legs; complaint, however, was quite useless; those who did not like the conveyance being at full liberty to wait 131 on any part of the road they might select, until one better adapted to comfort chanced to come by.

We quitted this place, six men, with just space enough left for us to crawl in, and we sat, bent almost double, with our legs stretched out before us. I consoled myself by concluding that we now had reached the extremity of our inconveniences; but I knew mighty little about the matter. It would have been impossible, for any length of time, to have borne the position we were now compressed into; but luckily this was not expected, since constant occasions were afforded us of stretching our legs, and getting cool under as heavy rain as the lover of a shower-bath could desire. K 2

COLUMBUS.

At the hour of two A.M. we reached the city of Columbus, on the Chattahoochee, the river dividing Alabama from Georgia.

Here we halted for a day and a night; and this time I employed, in company with my two New York fellow-travellers, in paying a visit to the Choctaw tribe of Indians, who possess a reserve lying west of the river.

We procured three stout nags, and early in the morning crossed the very fine bridge which spans this rapid stream close to the falls. On the Alabama side we found ourselves within a wild-looking village, scattered through the edge of the forest, bearing the unattractive name of Sodom; few of its denizens were yet stirring; they are composed chiefly of "minions o' the moon," outlaws from the neighbouring States. Gamblers, and other desperate men, here find security from their numbers, and from the vicinity 133 of a thinly inhabited Indian country, whose people hold them in terror, yet dare not refuse them a hiding-place. These bold outlaws, I was informed, occasionally assemble to enjoy an evening's frolic in Columbus, on which occasions they cross the dividing bridge in force, all armed to the teeth: the warrants in the hands of the U. S. Marshal are at such times necessarily suspended, since to execute a caption would require a muster greater than any within his command. If unmolested, the party usually proceed to the nearest hotel, drink deeply, make what purchases they require for the ladies of their colony, pay promptly, and, gathering the stragglers together, retire peaceably into the territory, wherein their present rule is by report absolute. The condition of this near community, and the crimes perpetrated by its members, were alluded to within the town with a mingled sentiment of detestation and fear.

A short way within the forest we overtook a man riding a rough pony, of whom I inquired the best route to be pursued for falling in with the Indian settlements; the man immediately

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volunteered to ride with us for a few hours; adding, 134 that he saw we were strangers from the North; that he was “a Vermont man himself, and had nothing particular to do just then.”

This was a lucky rencontre: the volunteer guide we thus secured appeared perfectly familiar with every turn of the numberless narrow footpaths leading from one location to another; and, under his guidance, we visited several.

The condition of the majority of these poor people seemed wretched in the extreme: most of the families were living in wigwams, built of bark or green boughs, of the frailest and least comfortable construction; not an article of furniture, except a kettle, was in the possession of this class. A few, however, were here who had erected log-houses, cleared a little land, and were also in the possession of a stove or two; we halted at a group of four of these little dwellings, where, under a shed, a fine negro wench was occupied frying bacon and making cakes of wheaten flour for her master's supper, who, she informed us, was absent on a hunting expedition. Within the log-huts sat the squaws of the party, all busily employed sewing beads on moccasins, or ornamenting deerskin pouches, after the fashion of the dames of 135 old in the absence of their true knights; our guide addressed these ladies roughly enough; but without eliciting any reply more encouraging than a sort of “Ugh! ugh!” unaccompanied by a single look. The negro girl, however, had not adopted the taciturnity of the tribe, but readily chatted with us, explaining, amongst other matters, the nature of the contents of the boiler, whose savoury smell greatly attracted our attention. She said it was composed of Indian corn, boiled a great deal and slowly, with only a little salt for seasoning; affirming, that the Indians preferred this simple dish to all other dainties. For myself, I gave a decided vote in favour of the fried rashers, and the nice little cakes baked in the ashes: of these we partook freely, at the solicitation of the good-humoured cook, who, with right Indian hospitality, assured us there was plenty more.

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Returning, we encountered several members of this tribe who had been passing the day in Columbus; some were on foot, others riding, but all more or less elevated; a few of the women were good-looking, and, to their credit, all of them sober.

As we repassed Sodom, the sound of revelry ¹³⁶ proclaimed the orgies resumed. The rain, which had hitherto held up, once more began to descend with a determination of purpose that boded us no good: we spurred over the covered bridge, and were soon after housed again in Georgia.

At our hotel I encountered a gentleman who, a few weeks before, had been a fellow-passenger with me from New York to Charleston; but his advance had been less prosperous than mine: indeed, a brief relation of what he had endured sufficed to reconcile me to any little fatigue that fell to my lot. It appeared that, three weeks previous to this meeting of ours, he had quitted Columbus in a steamer going down to Appalachicola: they had proceeded some three hundred miles on their way, when, in the night, the passengers were roused from sleep by the alarm of "fire!" The boat was, in fact, a mass of flame by the time the first persons reached the deck. My informant, with many others, immediately jumped overboard: the steamer was run on the bank; and, with the exception of two persons drowned, the rest of her passengers and crew were landed in the forest; most of them with nothing in the shape of covering excepting their night-clothes. Luckily, there were ¹³⁷ only two ladies of the party; and their condition may be imagined, living for four days in the forest swamp without other than temporary huts for shelter, and in all other respects most scantily provided for, as the suddenness of the fire prevented any saving of stores or provisions.

At the end of four days the up-river steamer was hailed on its passing, and, getting on board of this, they were in a few days after landed where I found my informant waiting for the next boat. It appeared that the fire was attributed to a slave who had been the

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day before flogged for mutiny, and who, according to the evidence of his fellows, had threatened some such revenge.

During the afternoon I walked about this thriving frontier town, despite a smart shower: the stores were well supplied, the warehouses filled with cotton, and in all quarters were groups of the neighbouring planters busied in looking after the sale of their produce, and making such purchases as their families required.

Numerous parties of Indians,—Creeks and Choctaws,—roamed about from place to place, mostly drunk, or seeking to become so as quickly as possible: with each party of the natives I 138 observed a negro-man, the slave of some one present, but commonly well dressed in the European manner, having an air of superior intelligence to his masters, and evidently exercising over them the power and influence derived from superior knowledge: the negroes, in fact, appeared the masters, and the red-men the slaves.

Along the river-front of the town, a situation wildly beautiful, I observed several dwellings of mansion-like proportions, and others of a similar character in progress. I should say, that nowhere in this South country have I yet seen a place which promises more of the prosperity increasing wealth can bestow than this; or one that, from all I learned, is more wanting in all that men usually consider most worth possessing,—personal security, reasonable comfort, and well-executed law. In place of these, affrays ending in blood are said to be frequent, apprehensions few, acquittal next to certain even in the event of trial, and the execution of a white man a thing unknown.

In the midst of all this, be it understood, I do not consider that a traveller runs the least risk; robbery, or murder for the sake of mere plunder, never occurs; and to a stranger the rudest of 139 these frontier spirits are usually exceedingly civil; but idleness, hot blood, and frequent stimulants make gambling or politics ready subjects for quarrels, and, as the parties always go armed, an affray is commonly fatal to some of those concerned.

As the population steadily advances, these wild spirits melt away before it, some becoming good citizens, others clearing out before the onward march of civilization: their sway is therefore yearly decreasing in force within the States, their sphere becoming limited in proportion as persons interested in the support of law increase; already, each season, numbers seek freedom from restraint within the Mexican territory, where an infusion of such blood will be productive of strange events in Texas; and if this fine territory be not, within a very short period, rendered over-hot a berth for its Mexican proprietors, "coming events cast their shadows before" to very little purpose.

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TRAVELLING THROUGH THE CREEK-NATION, THE ALABAMA RIVER DOWN TO MOBILE.

A little before midnight, my two New York *compagnons du voyage* and myself took our seats in the mail for Montgomery, on the Alabama river. We found ourselves the sole occupants of the vehicle, and were congratulating each other on the chance, when we heard directions given to the driver to halt at Sodom, for the purpose of taking up a gentleman and his lady,— *Anglice* , a gambler and his mistress.

It was dark as pitch and raining hard when we set out: a few minutes found us rumbling along the enclosed bridge, amidst the mingled roar of the rain, our wheels, and the neighbouring falls: the flood passing below us had in the course of the last ten hours risen nearly twenty feet; its rush was awful.

At one of the first houses in the redoubtable 141 border village the stage halted, and a couple of trunks were added to our load; next, a female was handed into the coach, followed by her protector. The proportions of neither could at this time be more than guessed at; and not one syllable was exchanged by any of the parties. In a few minutes we were again under weigh, and plunging through the forest.

We reached Fort-Mitchell about daylight, where formerly a considerable garrison was kept up: the post is now, however, abandoned. Here an unanticipated treat awaited us, for we were compelled to leave our, by this time, tolerably warm stage, for one fairly saturated with the rain that had fallen during the night. Our luggage was pitched into the mud by the coachman, who had only one assistant; so we were fain to lend a hand, instead of standing shivering by, until the trunks were fished out, and disposed of on the new stage. A delay here of an hour and a half enabled me, however, to stroll back, and take a look at the deserted barrack. By this time too the day was well out; the sky broke with a more cheerful look than for some days back had favoured us, and was hailed by us all with great pleasure.

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I prepared my 'baccy, and climbed on to the box by the driver, resolute to hold on there as long as possible. For five hours we got along at the rate of four miles an hour, through a forest of pine growing out of a sandy soil, without any undergrowth whatever,—the trees of the noblest height, and just so far apart that horsemen might have galloped in any direction without difficulty. Our driver was a lively intelligent young fellow, having a civil word of inquiry or of greeting for every Indian we encountered: these were by no means numerous however, and they seldom replied by more than a monosyllable, hardly appearing to notice our passage.

The country was in general slightly undulating, but now and then we came to places where I considered us fairly pounded, so abrupt were the declivities and so deep the mud. There are few persons certainly called on for a more frequent display of pluck and coolness than these drivers; I should like some of our flash dragsmen to see one or two bits we got through on this road; not that any mile of it would be considered passable by Pickford's vans, in the condition it was at this season.

We halted for a late breakfast at a solitary 143 log-tavern kept by Americans, where we were received with infinite civility, and where the lady of the *auberge* was inclined to be

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amiable and communicative,—not an every-day rencontre in these parts. She informed me that the means they could command for the mere necessities of living were very limited; that butcher's meat was only attainable at Columbus, and that any attempt to rear a stock of poultry was ridiculous, as the Indians of the country invariably stole every feather.

I congratulated her upon the late arrangements of Government, which afforded her the prospect of speedily being rid of these neighbours; but she seemed to think the day of departure was still far distant, not over five hundred having as yet availed themselves of the offers held out to them, although the greater number of those remaining in the country had already disposed of their allotments to speculators and dissipated the money they had received for their land; having neglected to plant an ear of corn, or prepare the least provision for the present winter,—an improvidence of character peculiar to the natives, and which it was, she said, impossible to guard against without depriving 144 them of all free-agency. Many, as she assured me, of these wretched people were at this time suffering from extreme want, and thousands were fast hastening to the like condition, when, unless aided by Government, they must steal or starve.

This poor couple had, as they told me, dwelt in the Indian nation for the last seven years: they seemed decent, industrious folk, yet their habitation bore few marks of growing comfort; the interstices between the logs were unfilled, through these the wind and rain had both free ingress. Their hope, I imagine, was to secure a good allotment of land amongst the improvident sales made by the Indians: they said the place was a good one, and tolerably healthy, excepting in spring and fall; judging by the looks of the family, I should, however, take their estimation of health to be a very low one.

After breakfast the driver made his appearance, and desired us to come down to the stable and fix ourselves as well as we could on the *Box*. Conceiving he alluded to me, I asked if the stage was ready, but received for reply an assurance that it was not intended the stage should be any longer employed on the service; but that, by the agent's order, the

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Box was to 145 be taken on from this point, and that those that liked might go on with it, and those that did not might stay behind.

This was pleasant, but all appeared desirous of trying the *Box*. I confess that a mail conveyance bearing a name so novel excited my curiosity; so, sallying forth, I walked down to the starting-place, where, ready-harnessed and loaded, stood literally the *Box*, made of rough fir plank, eight feet long by three feet wide, with sides two feet deep: it was fixed firmly on an ordinary coach-axle, with pole, &c. The mails and luggage filled the box to overflowing, and on the top of all we were left to, as the driver said, “fix our four quarters in as leetle time as possible.”

Now this fixing, in any other part of the globe, would have been deemed an impossibility by persons who were paying for a mail conveyance; but in this spot we knew redress was out of the question—the choice lay between the *Box* and the forest. We, however, enjoyed the travellers' privilege,—grumbled loudly, cursed all scoundrel stage-agents, who “keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope:” we next laughed at our unavailing ill-humour, VOL. II. L 146 which the driver bore with the calmness of a stoic, and finally disposed of our persons as we best could; not the least care having been taken in the disposition of the luggage, our sole care, in fact, was to guard against being jolted off by the movement of the machine; any disposition in favour of ease or comfort was quite out of the question.

During the change, our female companion and her proprietor had walked on; and these were yet to be provided for; however, the sun shone brightly; and we found a subject for congratulation in the fact that rain was not likely to be superadded to our miseries. Short-sighted rogues that we are! What a blessing is it, a knowledge of the evils to come is not permitted to cloud our enjoyments in possession! Crack went the whip. “Hold on with your claws and teeth!” cried the driver; the latter, we found, were only to be kept in the jaws by compression: for the former, we had immediate occasion; our first movement unshipped a trunk and carpetbag, together with the band-box of our fair passenger—the latter was

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crushed flat beneath the trunk, and its contents scattered about the way: exposed to the gaze of the profane, lay the whole *materiel* of the toilet of this fair maiden 147 of Sodom. We gathered up a lace cap; ditto of cambric; six love epistles, directed to the lady in as many different hands; a musk-box, and several other indescribable articles; together with an ivory-hilted dagger, of formidable proportions, a little sullied, like the maiden's honour, but sharp as a needle. Of the articles enumerated we made a bundle, leaving the shattered band-box on the road. I took the precaution to roll the several billets up in the cambric cap, "guessing" they were not intended for the Colonel's eyes; for so was our male companion styled by the driver.

When we overtook the pair, we made every exertion to dispose of the poor girl, at least securely; who, in truth, merited our cares by the cheerful and uncomplaining spirit she evinced under circumstances full of peril, and ill to bear for the hardiest frame.

Wherever the way permitted a quicker pace than a walk, our condition was really *pénible* to a degree; luckily, this did not arrive often, or last long: to crawl at a snail-pace through the mud was now a relief, since one could retain one's seat without straining every muscle to hold on. L 2

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Thus we progressed till the evening advanced, when the clouds gathered thick, and then began to roll towards the north-west in dark threatening masses, right in the teeth of a brisk, fitful breeze.

"We'll get it presently," observed our driver, eyeing the drift; "hot as mush, and 'most as thick, by the looks on 't."

All at once the wind lulled; then it shifted round to the south-east, and blew out in heavy gusts that bent the tall pines together like rushes: upon this change, lightning quickly followed, playing in the distance about the edge of the darkening horizon. For about two

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hours we were favoured with these premonitory symptoms, and thus allowed ample time for conjecture as to the probable violence of the storm in active preparation.

Some of our Box crew decided as they desired, that it would pass away in threatenings only; others, that all this heralding would be followed by a violent storm, or perhaps by a hurricane. It now occurred to me that, in moments of enthusiasm, encouraged by security, I had expressed myself desirous of witnessing the wild charge of a furious hurricane on the thick ranks 149 of the forest. I confess, however, that, having within the last twenty-four hours witnessed its effects, this desire was considerably abated. With the probable approach of the event, my ardour, like Acres's courage, "oozed away;" and the prospect of such a visitation, whilst exposed on the *Box*, became the reverse of pleasant.

In this uncertainty I resolved to consult our driver's experience; so, coming boldly to the point, demanded,

"I say, driver, do you calculate that we shall be caught in a hurricane?"

"I'll tell you how that'll be exact," replied our oracle: "If the rain comes down pretty, we shan't have no hurricane; if it holds up dry, why, we shall."

Henceforth never did ducks pray more devoutly for rain than did the crew of the *Box*, although without hope or thought of shelter; but, on the contrary, with every possible chance of a break-down or upset, which would have made the forest our bed, but stripped of the "Leaves so green, O!" about which your ballad-mongers love to sing, with their toes over the fender, and the hail pattering melodiously upon the pantiles. At last, our prayers were heard; 150 and we all, I believe, breathed more freely as the gates of the sky opened, and the falling flood subdued and stilled the hot wind whose heavy gusts rushing among the pines had been the reverse of musical.

The thunder-clouds, hitherto confined to the southern horizon, now closed down upon the forest, deepening its already darkness: at a snail's pace we still proceeded, and luckily

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found an Indian party encamped close by a sort of bridge lying across a swamp it would have been impossible, as the driver assured us, to have crossed without a good light.

From this party we not only procured a large supply of excellent light-wood, but one of the men heartily volunteered to carry a bundle of it, and act as guide; the squaw of the good fellow was in a violent rage with her man for this courtesy, but he bore her ridicule and reviling with perfect composure. Each of our party carried in his hand a large sliver of this invaluable wood; and, thus prepared, marched in front of the Box across this bridge, almost as ticklish as the single hair leading to Mahomet's heaven: it was a quarter of a mile in length, unguarded by a rail or bulwark of the slightest kind, but generally 151 overhung by the rank growth of the jungle through which it was laid.

My New York companions and I had out-walked the Box; but when about half-way across, the rain extinguished our torches, which were rather too slight for the service, when, as we had perceived in our course that many of the planks were unshipped or full of holes, we thought it best to halt for the coming up of our baggage.

I can never forget the effect produced by the blaze of the huge bundle of light-wood borne aloft by our Creek guide: I entirely lost sight of the discomfort of our condition in the pleasure I derived from the whole scene.

Let the reader imagine a figure dressed in a deep-yellow shirt reaching barely to the knees, the legs naked; a belt of scarlet wampum about the loins, and a crimson and dark-blue shawl twisted turban-fashion round the head; with locks of black coarse hair streaming from under this, and falling loose over the neck or face: fancy one half of such a figure lighted up by a very strong blaze, marking the nimble tread, the swart cold features, sparkling eye, and out-stretched muscular arms of the red-man,—the other half, meantime, being in the blackest possible 152 shadow: whilst following close behind, just perceptible through wreaths of thick smoke, moved the heads of the leading horses; and, over all, flashed at frequent intervals red vivid lightning; one moment breaking forth

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in a wide sheet, as though an overcharged cloud had burst at once asunder; the next, descending in zigzag lines, or darting through amongst the tall pines and cypress trees; whilst the quick patter of the horses' hoofs were for a time heard loudly rattling over the loose hollow planks, and then again drowned wholly by the crash of near thunder.

Never in my life have I looked upon a scene which holds so vivid a place within my memory: the savage solitude of the jungle, the violence of the storm, together with the pictorial accessories by which the whole picture was kept in movement, fixed the attention, and can never, I think, be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

Having cleared the swamp, we took our places on the Box, still lighted by our friendly Creek; and in about half an hour gained the log-house where the mail agent to whose considerate order we owed our change of vehicle, and consequent added discomfort, dwelt: here, however, 153 a clean comfortable meal of tea, chops, fowls, and hot bread of every denomination, awaited us.

My first movement on jumping off the Box was to lay hands on the Indian guide, and to proffer to him a flask of cognac, which had proved of singular comfort to the party: to my great surprise, he at once declined tasting it; smiling and pointing his finger to his forehead, he gravely repeated half a dozen words, which a by-stander of the nation readily translated to mean,—“Whisky water make man not eat,—bad for sore head.”

I agreed with this as a general rule, but at the same time begged my Creek to look on old brandy as an exception, when used medicinally; this being duly interpreted, the Indian laughed heartily, but abided by his rejection of the consolation. During our parley he took the red and blue shawl from off his head, wrung it as dry as possible, refolded it, and then adjusted his turban with infinite care, preparing forthwith to be gone: he did not depart without a slight gratuity, and took with him our best wishes. This was a fine open-countenanced fellow, middle-sized, and firmly built; he was, in fact, one of the few 154 really good-looking aborigines I have met. As he was departing from the house, I asked

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if he did not require a bundle of light-wood to show him his road home; he laughed, and replied, "No, he was no waggon; no fear of him falling into the swamp."

Away he dashed into the mud at a quick trot, with bent knees and folded arms, anxious, I fancied, to appease his squaw; since it was contrary to her desire that he had ventured on this service, and not, as the coachman assured us, without receiving much abuse for his foolishness, as his "gentle ladye" termed this courtesy.

Here we learned that the mail preceding us had been overturned into a stream from off the bridge we had next to pass, and lay there yet; luckily no passenger was in it at the time: our new driver added, that he had no expectations of getting the coach through, but he was bound to try. So wearied were we, that any or all of the party would have been well contented to stay here; but no place could be given us to sleep in, and until the next coach passed, no means could be procured to forward us to Montgomery; we had no choice therefore but to push on with the mail and meet our fortune.

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From this hour, midnight, until daylight, we were generally on foot; the driver in one or two instances refusing to advance until even the poor girl got out, assuring us that he would not hazard the young woman's life, however hard it was for her to face the night and the roads, frequently over knee-deep.

We had a plentiful supply of fire-wood: we were able, and, I will add, willing men; and by dint of great personal exertion, added to an excellent team, and a judicious driver, we brought the coach through all difficulties, arriving at Montgomery at six in the morning: thus completing a journey of ninety miles in thirty-two hours; and having paid well to be permitted to assist in getting the mail-bag through roads which, for the next few days, remained, I believe, utterly impassable, even under the circumstances I have here attempted to describe.

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At Montgomery we found a wretched inn, with no possibility of procuring anything save liquor; but we had the good luck to learn that in a couple of hours a steam-boat was departing for Mobile, down the Alabama: we gave up the stage therefore, and sallied out of this den of a hotel for the steamer Carolina. This movement was 156 lucky, as the stage-route to Mobile was, as I afterwards learned, as bad as the worst we had come through; all the late coaches had met with accidents, and the added rain of the last twenty-four hours would, it was presumed, render it impassable.

I was so wearied that I saw little of this place but a muddy river, whose banks were strewn with bales of cotton awaiting the means of transport. I could hardly keep my eyes open till I had swallowed my breakfast: a clean-looking berth was assigned me, and, turning in, I remained oblivious to the world and its cares until after noon of the following day, when I awoke fresh as a bird and hungry as an ostrich. I was told several attempts had been made to rouse me, but they were unavailing; I answered, but slept on: for my own part, of this twenty-four hours of life I protest utter unconsciousness. I found that I had slept faster than the boat had progressed, for we were but fifty miles off our starting-place, having a certain portion of freight to take in at each plantation, according to previous engagements.

Down this noble stream we journeyed for four days and nights; in clear weather making tolerably 157 good way, but often compelled by thick fogs and drift timber to lay our ship alongside the forest, and make fast to some large tree. Occasionally the stream would cant our head suddenly, and, before the helm could be shifted, rush we went right stem on into the nearest grove of willows, with such a crashing and rattling as made one wonder at first what the deuce was the row. In one instance, whilst at dinner, a huge branch burst open a side door, and nearly impaled a French conjurer of celebrity on his way to New Orleans. We were nearly a hundred souls on board, and each day our limits grew more and more circumscribed; for the side galleries were filled in with bales of cotton, the windows blocked up, at last the very doorways, all but one: lights were burned in the cabin day and night: the Carolina became, in fact, a floating mass of cotton, which, had the

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season been dry, one unlucky spark might have set in a blaze—an accident by no means unknown; luckily, the rain continued to fall more or less daily, as is usual at this season.

Our passengers were principally composed of the planters whose cotton had already been shipped; they were a rough but merry set of fellows, and many of them exceedingly intelligent; 158 kinder or better-disposed men I never met: for their own health's sake I could have desired to see the bar less prosperous; their visits to that quarter were over frequent: not that an instance of inebriety occurred on board, but the stimulant, together with the quantity of tobacco they use, must, I am sure, be ruinous to both health and enjoyment. I found most of them complaining of dyspepsia, but had much difficulty to induce them to admit the possibility of their own habits being at least as much the cause as the climate.

The cotton-grounds along the whole cultivated line of this river are rich beyond conception; fields of a mile square were here just picked, and yet white as snow from the after-growth. Many of them would have been worth re-picking had hands been procurable; on every side fresh clearings are going on, and the produce next season will be greatly increased in consequence of the stimulus derived from the high prices of this year.

A night scene, whilst lying beneath some of the noble bluffs towering above the river, was often worthy the delay we paid for it. One or two of these heights were two hundred feet perpendicular, 159 or nearly so: from the summit there is laid down in a slanting direction a slide or trough of timber, wide enough to admit of the passage of a cotton bale; at the bottom of the bluff this slide rests upon a platform of loose planks, alongside of which the boat is moored; the cotton-bag is guided into the slide at top, and thence, being launched, is left to find its own way to the bottom; if it keeps the slide until it strikes the platform, communicating with the vessel by a plane inclined according to circumstances, it is carried on board by its own impetus and the spring of the planks; but it often chances that through meeting a slight inequality on the slide, or from some unknown cause, the bale bounces off in its passage, either sticking amongst the trees by the way, or rolling headlong into the

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river. At any jutting intermediate stand of the precipice, negroes are stationed to keep up the huge fires which afford light for the operation, as well as to forward such bales as may stick by the run; these black half-naked devils, suspended in mid-air as it were, laughing, yelling, or giving to each other confused directions, make the forest ring to the water's edge; whilst through this occasional din swells the wild chorus of the men upon the 160 summit, who are regularly engaged rolling the bales from the near barn to the slide.

Add to all, the hissing sound of the spare steam, the blaze of the great fires, and the crackling of the trees which feed them, with the many strange figures presented on all sides,—and a wilder grouping imagination cannot well conceive.

At Clairborne, an elevation rising boldly from the river at least three hundred feet, we took in the last bale of cotton the Carolina could stow: the water was now level with her gunwale; indeed, amidships it was flowing over. We had still one hundred and fifty miles to perform of our journey in darkness, with upwards of a thousand bales of cotton on board: such a strange motley scene as our cabin presented at bed-time it would be hard to describe; our provisions held out pretty well however, and all were disposed good-humouredly to bear our lot with Christian patience.

Tuesday, Dec. 30 th. —We reached Mobile, having come five hundred miles down the Alabama since Christmas-day. Upon inquiry for our mail, I found it was still due, as well as the two immediately preceding it; I had, therefore, lost no time by making choice of the Carolina, 161 and had possibly escaped broken bones: the distance by land, I ought to observe, is from Montgomery only about one hundred miles.

I here was received by my friends, H—n and M—e; and on this day, at the house of the latter gentleman, once more sat down to a truly comfortable dinner, in company with our worthy Consul, and a few other gentlemen. I was detained here for two days, there being no steamer going across the lake to New Orleans: these two days were passed most

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delightfully, driving Mr. H—n about the beautiful forest paths which surround this city; the weather was divine, and flowers of great beauty yet in abundance.

The evening of the 31st I passed with Mrs. B—r, where in a glass of good poteen we drank a good bye to the year 1834, and a welcome to the stranger. VOL. II. M

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January 1 st , 1835.— Still detained at Mobile: the sun shines powerfully, and the sky is pure and clear. After breakfast lounged about the very clean streets of this pretty city; then procured a neat turn-out, and drove Mr. H—n, he acting as pilot, as far as Choctaw Point, whence we had an extensive view of the Bay of Mobile with the south-west coast of Florida. Our way lay through a forest of pine and oak; many little rivulets crossed our path, the sides of which were decked by a hundred different shrubs and plants, from the magnificent grandiflora, here growing eighteen and twenty feet high, to the lowly rose: the vegetation is rich, winter though it is; the beauty of the spring amongst these noble woods I can only imagine at present, but hope, before I again look northward, to know more of that season.

The presence of the ghostly-looking cedar, 163 with its funereal draperies of unwholesome moss, so common throughout Carolina and Georgia, is here unknown; the forest is a series of regular avenues pillared by the loftiest pines; and there is no undergrowth, except in little dingles through which a brook may creep its way: the rides in this vicinity are therefore most attractive. At one point during our ramble we suddenly came to an abrupt sandy hill, at whose foot ran a sparkling little rivulet, in the midst of which one of the aborigines stood in a state of nature, raising water in the hollow of a gourd, and laving with it his coal-black shining hair. As we descended, he stood erect and looked towards us, but without exhibiting the least symptom of either surprise or embarrassment: his form was light but perfectly proportioned, with small thorough-bred knees and feet; he looked

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like a new bronze cast from the antique: the graceful repose of the attitude he maintained during our approach was perfect. Mr. H—n asked him if he was Choctaw; he replied to the question by a slow nod of the head and a brief 'yah!'

Continuing our ride along the sea-bank, we arrived at a large establishment where oil is extracted from the seed of the cotton-plant: this is M 2 164 a recent discovery, and likely to prove a most profitable one to the proprietors of this mill.

In the afternoon, accompanied Mr. H—n to the northern extremity of the city, where we found broad streets already marked out: plunging deep into the forest, many scattered houses of brick were springing up on sites where barely trees enough had been cut down to afford elbow-room for the builders.

January 2 nd. —Quitted Mobile on the box of the mail for Portersville: our way lay over Spring Hill and through the Pine-barren; the road was a track cleared by the woodman's axe; the stumps were not as yet macadamized by time, still the horses picked their way amongst them at a very fair pace. At a single log-house, situated about mid-way, we pulled up to change horses; here too I perceived, by the array of a table placed in the open hall, dinner was provided. On my asking the landlord, who was a countryman, how soon dinner would be ready, he replied with a friendly confidential air, "Almost immediately, but unless you're cruel sharp-set, I'd recommend *you* not to mind it, sir."

I took the hint thus disinterestedly given, and walked forward, passing over one of the primitive 165 bridges common in this section of the country, where swamps and watercourses are frequent; these are commonly overlaid also, as far as may be necessary, by a back-wood railway; that is, by trunks of trees packed closely side by side, over which the machine is dragged at a trot: in Canada this sort of road is termed a corduroy.

Half an hour's start of our mail, whose pace was not over five or six miles per hour, enabled me to prolong my walk as far as I chose, and I enjoyed my freedom greatly; the perfect solitude of the scene; the absence of all trace of man, excepting the one

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narrow and seemingly interminable track, whose unvarying line might be traced as far as eye could reach; not a sound could be heard, only the low sighing of the breeze as it swept over the ocean of graceful pines whose spiry heads appeared to kiss the sky. In ten minutes after quitting the log-hut where the coach rested, I was in fact plunged in a solitude as complete as it was beguiling.

If you by any chance turned about to look back upon the line you had trod, or muse upon the scene, the only remembrance of your true course was the sun; and indeed more than once, 166 as time wore on, did I halt struck with a sudden apprehension that I might have turned upon my steps, and it required some moments of consideration to reassure me. At length, seating myself upon a fallen pine within the shadow of a tall magnolia, I resolved to abide with patience the coming up of the coach.

Resting here, strange fancies connected with the forest and its savage denizens came thronging upon my mind. Here, within a very few years, the Choctaw alone had wandered, and the only path was the scarce traceable line leading to the village of his tribe.

Where are these hunters now? gone swiftly away, borne like autumn's leaves, upon the irrepressible flood of enterprise and intelligence which is taming the wilderness with a rapidity Europe has yet no adequate appreciation of. The hunter and his prey have alike been scattered or rooted wholly out; the forest still remains to witness for their existence, and, although assailed in every quarter, the woodman's axe ringing from east to west, from north to south, it yet appears to defy the activity of its assailants.

So rapid is vegetation in this climate, so prompt is Nature to repair any waste in this 167 favoured domain of hers, that even where places have been completely bared by the axe or by the whirlwind, a very few years of repose clothes them once more, a luxuriant growth of forest, vigorous and healthful, spreads rapidly over the waste, asserting its ancient claim, and eagerly repossessing itself of its heritage.

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We reached Portersville at four o'clock, having been just six hours coming thirty-two miles: here we found the Government steamer, the Watchman, and five passengers, who had left Mobile on the 31st ultimo. They had been detained here two days, living in a log-house; their only amusement watching the ducks and snipe whirling in search of fresh feeding-ground over the dreary waters of Lac Pontchartrain.

Over a long fragile pier, carried far into the lake on piles, and breached in fifty places, we gained the deck of the Watchman, and in five minutes after were heading towards the setting sun, whose rays, brilliant though they were, failed to invest with cheerfulness this desolate, half-drowned land.

I walked to and fro upon the ample deck of the vessel until my limbs were fatigued and my eyes sick of the eternal sameness of the scene; 168 and then sought my berth, a very comfortable one, where I lay till roused next morning with the intelligence that we were before the railroad.

Jan. 3 rd. —On landing, we found the six o'clock train had just departed; we were afforded therefore half an hour to look about us. Here is a very large hotel, during the summer much frequented by the citizens of New Orleans, the offices connected with the railroad depôt, three or four little stores, together with a small range of dirty huts, including two or three cut-throat-looking sheds, bearing inscribed over the entrance, in large, ill-assorted characters, the word *Tire*; which immediately under is translated, for the benefit of country gentlemen, into “ *Shutting Galery.* ” These little indications serve to remind the stranger that he is now in the land of the “ *duello* ,” where each “captain of compliments” is reputed for “the very butcher of a silk button,” and “fights as you sing prick-song,—rests me his minim rest, one, two, and the third in your bosom.”

In little more than half an hour the cars returned from the city, and in about thirty minutes we were whirled under the covered depôt, where I was fortunate enough to get a hackney-coach, 169 in which I proceeded at once to Mr. H—n's house in *Rue Bourgogne* , where I

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was received by his nephews with a heartiness of welcome that made me in one moment feel that I was at home.

The whole of this day was cloudy and cold; a good deal of rain had fallen during the night, and consequently the streets were nearly impassable for carriages: the side-walks were, however, very well kept; and I took a short stroll about the American quarter, finding on my return that already, with the prompt courtesy which distinguishes this country, several gentlemen had left cards of compliment and invitation.

Sunday , 4 th. —A lovely day. Mr. B—e having planned a ride as far as the lake, I saw after breakfast three or four good-looking horses arrive, caparisoned with showy, coloured, housings and *demi-pique* Spanish saddles: shortly after, their masters appeared, and off we pushed through mud knee-deep; we soon gained the shell road however, and found it as good as the streets of Mobile, hard, smooth, and binding as lime. It is a pity, as this material is to be procured in abundance, that it is not more generally applied: paving the streets with heavy stones, 170 which soon sink deep in the alluvial soil, is, I fear, likely, without vast outlay, to prove labour lost; besides that these have to be imported from the North or from England, not a pebble existing here over the whole surface of the country.

At five o'clock, met a large party at dinner at Mr. B—'s; Madame B—e, a lady of the country, doing the honours with that vivacity and grace which is said to distinguish the French creoles of New Orleans: the dinner was excellent, a mixture of English and French cooking, both good, and admirably served; whilst for wines, we had Chateau Margaret of 1825, with frozen champagne, and Madeira, such as can only be produced in this country. The dinner party, with the exception of a couple of creole French gentlemen, was composed of my own countrymen; and little was here to remind one of a strange land, save the plates of clear ice sparkling on the table, and the faces of ebony shining behind our chairs.

NEW ORLEANS.

AMERICAN THEATRE.

On Monday the 5th I attended rehearsal at the American Theatre, and was pleased to find it a large, well-proportioned house, with three rows of boxes, a pit, or *parquette*, as it is termed, subdivided as in the French Theatre: each seat is numbered, and, being taken at the box-office, is secured to the purchaser for any part of the evening. The company was a very tolerable one; and in the person of a nephew of Mr. W. Farren's, I found an adjunct of much importance to me—an excellent old man.

My next anxiety was about my audience, not its numbers, as I was assured every seat in the house was disposed of, and this as far as could be allowed, for every night I might perform; but I felt solicitous with respect to its character and composition, of which I had received very 172 discouraging reports. I kept however my apprehensions to myself, resolved to do my best after my own fashion, and abide the result as I best might.

On Tuesday I made my *début*; and never was man more agreeably surprised than myself when, after making my bow, I for the first time took a rapid survey of the aspect of the house: the *parquette* and dress-boxes were almost exclusively filled by ladies, *coiffées* with the taste which distinguishes Frenchwomen in every country, and which becomes peculiarly striking here, where are to be seen the finest heads of dark hair in the world; many wore bonnets of the latest Parisian fashion, and all were more dressed than it is usual to be at theatres in America. This attention to costume on the part of the ladies, added to their occupying the pit, obliges the gentlemen to adopt a correspondent neatness; and hence it occurs that, when the New Orleans theatre is attended by the belles of the city, it presents decidedly the most elegant-looking auditory of this country.

For myself, I found them in manner equal to their appearance; a greater degree of repose and gentility of demeanour I never remember to have 173 noticed in any mixed assembly

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of any place. So much for report, which informed me I should find the American house here filled by noisy planters from the up-country and boisterous Mississippi boatmen. Let me however add, that my personal friends assure me a class of families attend my performances that is but rarely seen within this theatre, which the creoles do not usually patronize; and that this extreme decorum and exclusive appearance are assured by the places being all secured by families.

This may in some sort be true; but at most can only apply to the *parquette*, dress, and private boxes; the mixed population is still here; and, after nightly observation, rendered acute by interest and anxiety, I must assert that, taken generally, I do not desire to meet an audience whose behaviour more decidedly justifies the terms respectable and intelligent.

The least prolonged tumult of approbation even is stilled by a word to order: and when it is considered that here are assembled the wildest and rudest specimens of the Western population, men owning no control except the laws, and not viewing these over submissively, and who admit of no *arbiter elegantiarum* or standard of fine 174 breeding, it confers infinite credit on their innate good feeling, and that sense of propriety which here forms the sole check on their naturally somewhat uproarious jollity.

Let me add, that my first engagement was for twelve nights, four nights per week; that I, on my return from Natchez, acted a like number, with equal patronage; and that on no one night was I afforded an occasion of making an exception to the opinion I have above honestly recorded, certainly with greater pleasure, because in asserting the truth I feel I am at the same time performing an act of justice.

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FRENCH THEATRE.

The Opera, or French Theatre, which I visited several times, is an exceedingly well-appointed, handsome place, with a company very superior to the American one, and

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having its pieces altogether better mounted. It is to this house the creole families chiefly resort, as well indeed as the American ladies of the best class, most of whom are good French scholars; and within this *salle* on any Sunday evening may be seen eyes as bright and forms as delicately proportioned as in *la belle France* itself.

The building, whereof this theatre forms a part only, is a very extensive one, having as a part of its establishment a large ball-room, with supper-rooms attached; and, in addition to this, a variety of hells, where gambling flourishes in full practice, from the *salon* where the wealthy creole plays his five-hundred-dollar *coup*, to the obscure den where *roulette* does its work, with a pace slower but as sure, at the rate of half-dollar 176 stakes. I have looked in on these places during the performances, and never without finding them full.

Such establishments, ruinous and detestable under whatever guise or in whatsoever place they are permitted, become doubly dangerous when placed under the same roof and carried on in obvious connexion with what should be at all times an innocent recreation, and which ought and might be one of a refined and moral tendency.

The scenes of desperation and distress which gambling yearly gave rise to in this place amongst a people whose temperament is peculiarly excitable, coupled with a recent and terrible *exposée*, have at length roused the legislature of Louisiana to release themselves from the stigma of owing any portion of their revenue to a tax which legalised this worst species of robbery and assassination. This very session I had the gratification of seeing a bill brought into the House, and promptly carried through it, making gambling felony, and subjecting its followers to corresponding punishment.

The French Theatre will henceforward, I hope for ever, be freed from the disgrace which such 177 an association necessarily reflected upon the drama and all concerned with it.

I had the pleasure of meeting at a large dinner-party at my hospitable friend's, Col. D—'s, the gentleman who brought this bill into the House, and never did I drink to any man's

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health with more perfect sincerity: may he live to see his bill render gambling unknown in his country, and to be looked upon as its greatest benefactor! VOL. II. N

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From the 6th of January till the 29th, the weather continued uniformly fine, but very hot; the mercury in our drawing-room ranging from 70 to 75 degrees, whilst in the sun the heat precludes violent exercise.

29 *th.* —The morning sultry to a degree; continued so until noon, when the wind suddenly rose until it blew a perfect hurricane from about S.W., the rain meantime descending in a deluge; the streets were quickly changed into the beds of rivers, whilst peals of thunder kept rolling from one quarter of the heavens to another, heralded by incessant flashes of red lightning of the most vivid kind. I had promised to dine with a family whose dwelling was in the next street; but to have gotten thither without a canoe was out of the question. About six o'clock P.M. it 179 cleared off, the wind veering round to the northeast, when it became cold; the glass falling to 45 degrees.

February 1 st. —Weather continues fine; clear, sunny days, but agreeably cold, with slight frosts each night. Mosquitoes have disappeared, although I yet keep under a net at night by way of making assurance “doubly sure.” The vegetation fine and uninjured; the orange-trees on Mr. H—'s plantation, where I this day dined, all alive, throwing out fresh shoots in every direction; in two days the roads too have become dry and hard, with dust in clouds; the new moon sets in well for a continuance of fine weather.

Monday, 2 nd. —Attended to see Governor White installed in office. The city artillery roared, and the ceremony was made brilliant by the presence of the staff, as well of the regular American army stationed here as of the numerous local corps of the city; of these

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volunteers, were officers of all arms exceedingly well-appointed; they had also a more military air, and were better set up, than their fellow-soldiers of the North. The French citizen, in fact, acquires a more soldierly appearance, and takes greater pains to fit himself for these holiday doings, than N 2 180 either John Bull or brother Jonathan. A great number of ladies also graced the hall of assembly with their presence, and were, as on all public occasions, privileged persons. “ *Place aux dames* ” rendered the possibility of one of the masculine gender's approach all but impracticable.

Certainly in no country is there such universal and exclusive homage extended to the softer sex: no matter at what expense of his convenience, or circumscription of privilege, man must give way on all occasions where the ladies may have a caprice to indulge in, or any curiosity to gratify.

Dined with Colonel D—k, and sat next to a fine old Irishman, General M'L—n, who had passed some of sixty years in Louisiana, yet preserved his brogue and his ruddy complexion as freshly as though the time had been spent on the hills of Wicklow; he had arrived here under the Spanish government when a young man, and spoke of all the changes since as events of yesterday.

Tuesday, 3rd. —A curious scene began this morning at the State House. Mr. Grimes, one of the late candidates for the Senate of the United States, encountering Mons. La Branche, 181 the Speaker of the Louisianian legislature, in the hall of the Senate, according to report, struck him with his whip on account of some unsettled dispute, and in return received a bullet from the Speaker's pistol, which took effect in the breast of the great-coat he wore, but failed to penetrate it. Mr. Grimes, upon this, fired his pistol, loaded with ball and buck-shot, at Mons. La Branche, wounding him slightly in the hand, and leaving one or two of the conscript fathers, standing near, in doubt whether they were shot or no, so disgustingly close was the whiz of the passing lead.

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Dined with Messrs. T—n, where the affray of the morning was duly discussed; some of the parties present alleging that the quarrel arose from political, others from personal motives. It appeared, however, that Mons. La Branche, after retiring until his hand was dressed, immediately returned to the hall, and resumed his duties as the presiding judge of the highest deliberative assembly of this great State; whilst, within an hour, Mr. Grimes, who is an able advocate in great practice, was pleading a cause on which he was retained in one of the civil courts.

The duel is here a matter of such frequent recurrence, that any event of the kind hardly excites an hour's notice; the question is merely "which of them got off?" and with that inquiry the affair usually ends. A Court of Honour, having for its end and aim the amelioration of this system, if not its suppression, has been instituted this very year, and pretty generally subscribed to amongst the young Creoles; but I believe its regulations have not proved very efficacious.

At nine o'clock P.M. left Mr. T—'s; and walking to the near Levee, got on board the Superior, bound for Cincinnati, but chartered to stop at Natchez. The night was clear, but by far the coldest we have yet had here: the crown of the Levee, thronged with its busy crews, was lighted up by numerous fires, reflecting the hundred great steam-boats loading and unloading here, whilst the air resounded with the cheer of the negro gangs, given in unison to a few low simple notes, but full of wild animation, and, to my thinking, exceeding musical.

As we cast off into the midst of the wide stream, the whole bank of the Levee, with the warehouses bordering upon it, looked as though illuminated.

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Wednesday, 4 th. —Up early in my little stateroom, where I have a small French bed, a table, a chair, with a sash-window that opens on to the gallery going round the boat. I find

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my quarters exceedingly comfortable; but the vibration, owing to the power of the engines, renders it difficult to read, and puts all writing quite out of the question.

The river banks are well cleared and very thickly populated, exclusively by French. Passing Donaldsonville, where the *bayou la Fourche* quits the main river to fall into the Mexican Gulf farther to the southward, we saw the capitol designed for the use of the legislaiure of Louisiana, but which, after being tenanted for a single session, was left for New Orleans, and is now falling to ruin.

Many of the planters' seats are large, well-looking buildings, but they appear neglected and badly kept; indeed the climate renders it very difficult to keep a house in decent order unless it is inhabited all the year round, in which case it stands a chance of as many changes of tenants as a Turkish caravansary. These lands have a reputation for prodigious fertility; at one place, belonging to a General Hampton, two schooners 184 were loading molasses: here I was informed a thousand slaves find employment, bringing in to their employer an enormous revenue.

At Baton Rouge, a military post of the United States' army, we came upon the first rise in the banks: this place looks over a noble reach and bay; the barracks appeared roomy and outwardly in good order.

We frequently drew alongside the forest for a supply of wood, which the proprietors keep ready prepared in piles for the use of boats, being paid for it by the cord. The consumption is of course enormous, and in any other region would remind one that a scarcity must speedily ensue; here, however, the supply appears exhaustless.

I always landed at these places; and above Baton Rouge, where the French population is less general, I commonly found the labouring woodcutters to be North-country men, or from the western part of Michigan. They informed me that they can clear fifty dollars a

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month for the seven months they can work in this region, and that four or five seasons are sufficient to enable a saving man to buy a farm in the West.

These men uniformly agreed that, on returning home, they sorely missed the water of the 185 Mississippi. "I'll tell you, sir," said one very intelligent fellow, within whose hut I walked to light my cigar; "there's no pith in any other water after one's bin' used to drink o' this; it seems as though a man couldn't work on water alone anywhere else."

Whether this is fancy, or whether it arises from the regular and abstemious habits they generally observe whilst working here, I cannot tell; but the notion I found was universal throughout Louisiana.

I had frequent applications for a charge of fine powder for priming; game, as they informed me, (that is, deer,) being in abundance. I was greatly pleased with many of these men; they are hardy, industrious fellows, and suffer much during the season of their stay from bad quarters and bad diet: they said, nevertheless, it was a good place to come down to, but spoke with infinite dislike of the dirk and rifle practice of the neighbourhood.

Whilst passing Fort Adams after dark, our boat was hailed, signal fires lighted, and at length rifles fired to bring us to; but all in vain, our pilot held on his way, unheeding these pressing invitations. On my observing to him 186 that I conceived it a little hard not to touch for passengers when apparently so near to them, he informed me that the river was in rapid rise, and a current setting on that shore that might ground the boat.

Friday, 6 th. —My servant awoke me with the tidings that our voyage was complete, and we at Natchy-under-hill, where all things destined for the upper region are landed. It was about six o'clock A.M., the rain coming down merrily, when I took leave of the Superior and her captain, much pleased with both, and landed ankle-deep in choice mud.

Three or four negroes followed with my baggage to the nearest store, where I got a two-horse car, or dray, just put upon duty for the day. In common with one or two

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other persons, I engaged the machine; and packing my trunks and myself upon it, was dragged up the steep bluff, and so made my first entrance into Natchez in a right Thespian conveyance, but which assuredly required all the authority of antiquity to make it respectable.

At noon the wind chopped about to north-east; and off went rain and cloud, to be succeeded by a cold as cuttingly severe as any I ever encountered 187 in the North. Before dark the mud was converted into solid ridges, and thick ice coated each astonished puddle.

My chamber, the only single one in the house, was furnished with appliances that, in summer, must have rendered it delightful; facing the east, and opening on the road, were a door and window, neither of them particularly close-jointed; and, exactly *vis-à-vis*, another door, with a keyhole as large as the bore of a four-pounder; this was flanked by a third, which in its turn was set to by a huge open chimney; and, all combined, they rendered my quarters more airy than was at this crisis agreeable.

Saturday, 7 th. —Cold and wind unabated: walked in search of the theatre, and found it was not in the town, but standing about half a mile off, like a solitary vidette, in a graveyard too! Got through the rehearsal of “Born to Good Luck,” and inwardly resolved that the best fortune that could befall any player on this day would be to get off acting for the night. This was in due time happily accomplished without stir of mine; for the oil for our lamplighter being just landed, after the night's frost, from the deck of the Abeona steamer, refused to burn at a 188 short notice; a resolution which, when communicated to me, I very much applauded, declining with many thanks the manager's kindly tendered substitute of candles; the appearance was therefore of necessity put off, and the audience, as well as myself, granted a respite until Monday.

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Never did I feel cold so penetrating; they say, however, that it never lasts longer than a couple of days, and is now more severe than is usual; we therefore know the worst, and may live in hopes.

Sunday , 8 th. —Undertook, in company with a Boston friend, to walk out to the seat of Colonel Wilkins, where I was invited to dine; a conveyance had been sent for me; I was, however, desirous to see if exercise would warm me, and set off under the guidance of my Yankee companion, in whose good company I had the year before taken many an excursion through the pleasant lanes of New England.

We, in the first place, overshot our mark; then, in trying across a country gloriously broken and thickly timbered with a variety of trees, we lost our way, keeping Mrs. Wilkins' excellent fare at the fire, and ourselves away from it, some two hours longer than was needed.

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Despite of a cart-load of blazing wood, it was impossible to keep comfortably warm: the wine too partook of the common discomfort, and was cold and cloudy; the champagne alone was fit to drink, being sufficiently iced without much trouble.

THE THEATRE.

Monday , 9 th. —The weather a little milder: took a gallop into the country; dined early, and about six walked out of town to the theatre, preparatory to making my bow. The way was without a single passenger, and not a creature lingered about the outer doors of the house: the interior I found in the possession of a single lamplighter who was leisurely setting about his duties; of him I inquired the hour of beginning, and learnt that it was usual to commence about seven or eight o'clock—a tolerable latitude; time was thus afforded me for a ramble, and out I sallied, taking the direction leading from the town. I had not proceeded far when I met several men riding together; a little farther on, another group,

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with a few ladies in company, passed leisurely by, all capitably mounted: 190 others, I perceived, were fast approaching from the same direction. It now occurred to me that these were the persons destined to form the country quota of my auditory: upon looking back, my impression was confirmed by seeing them all halting in front of the rural theatre, and fastening their horses to the neighbouring rails and trees.

I now hastened back to take a survey of the scene, and a very curious one it was: a number of carriages were by this time arriving from the town, together with long lines of pedestrians; the centre of the wide road was however prominently occupied by the horsemen; some, dismounted, abided here the coming of their friends, or exchanged greetings with such of these as had arrived but were yet in their stirrups, and a finer set of men I have rarely looked upon; the general effect of their costume, too, was picturesque and border-like: they were mostly clad in a sort of tunic or frock, made of white or of grass-green blanketing, the broad dark-blue selvage serving as a binding, the coat being furnished with collar, shoulder-pieces, and cuffs of the same colour, and having a broad belt, either of leather or of the like selvage; broad-leafed 191 white Spanish hats of beaver were evidently the *mode*, together with high leather leggings, or cavalry boots and heavy spurs. The appointments of the horses were in perfect keeping with those of these cavaliers; they bore *demipique* saddles, with small massive brass or plated stirrups, generally shabracs of bear or deer-skin, and in many instances had saddle-cloths of scarlet or light blue, bound with broad gold or silver lace.

The whole party having come up, and their horses being hitched in front of the building to their satisfaction, they walked leisurely into the theatre, the men occupying the pit: whilst in the boxes were several groups of pretty and well-dressed women. The demeanour of these border gallants was as orderly as could be desired; and their enjoyment, if one might judge from the heartiness of their laughter, exceeding.

After the performance there was a general muster to horse; and away they rode, in groups of from ten to twenty, as their way might lie together. These were the planters of the

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neighbouring country, many of whom came nightly to visit the theatre, and this from very considerable distances; forming such an audience as 192 cannot be seen elsewhere in this hackney-coach age; indeed, to look on so many fine horses, with their antique caparisons, piquetted about the theatre, recalled the palmy days of the Globe and Bear-garden.

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Tuesday , 10 th. —Cold, cold; mercury below zero; every one complaining of the unusual duration of a temperature rarely encountered here. I am fast screwing my relaxed fibres up to their ancient Northern pitch of hardihood, and begin to face this nipping air with pleasure. Out early for a long ride: towards noon the wind shifted a little to the west, when it became perceptibly milder, the sun shining brightly and the sky cloudless. Dined in the country at Mr. M—'s; where I had a long conversation with Colonel W—s on the former and present condition of these frontier states, and derived much in the way both of information and amusement from this intelligent and well-informed gentleman.

Wednesday , 11 th. —Wind north-west; sun warm; day glorious; in saddle early, and away 193 to the forest. In the afternoon visited the plantation of Colonel B—n, where I saw three or four very likely racers at exercise; amongst others, a horse called Hard-heart, whose time for a mile, they declare here, has never been matched. The passion for the turf is, I find, yet stronger here, if that be possible, than in the North. One or two persons are this very year going to Europe for the sole purpose of importing horses of high reputation: a larger sort of brood-mare would, I think, be of more service to them.

In whatever direction I ride here, I find the country beautifully diversified; a succession of hill and dale, with timber-trees of the noblest kind. The magnolia grandiflora is found in groves absolutely, and growing from forty to fifty feet high.

This night, after the play, an old acquaintance, Mr. Howard Payne, came to see me: he had just descended the Mississippi from St. Louis; his object in travelling being, as he

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informed me, to obtain subscriptions for a journal he purposes to establish in London; its object, to cultivate and sustain an exchange of literary opinions, and a more liberal and generous intercourse in literature than at present exists. His VOL. II. 0 194 success, as might be expected, has been most encouraging.

Thursday , 12 *th*. —Weather balmy and genial; took a very long walk by the Mississippi, following the course of the stream through a country wild and beautiful; and on my way back, encountered a party of the Choctaw tribe, a miserable sample of this once powerful people. The two men, who appeared the leaders of the party, were both naked, their faces daubed here and there with lines and circles of red and black paint: they bore long rifles over their shoulders; and, buckled about their loins, were deer-skin pouches, containing their ammunition, pipes, &c. Several children were nearly or quite in a state of nature, and the squaws themselves scantily robed in dirty blankets, without a single ornament, dearly prized as is all finery by these coquettish children of nature.

The best of this tribe are now away south, about the head of the Red River: those yet lingering near this place, although numerous, are considered the outcasts of the nation. The appearance of such as I have encountered is squalid and filthy in the extreme.

Friday , 13 *th*. —A clear windy day, but sufficiently 195 mild: a boat up from New Orleans, with a mail; the first received since my arrival; latest date from England, December 23rd. Walked down to Natchy-under-hill, to inquire about a boat to New Orleans: saw one monster come groaning down the stream, looking like a huge cotton-bale on fire. Not a portion of the vessel remained above water, that could be seen, excepting the ends of the chimneys: the hull and all else was hidden by the cotton-bags, piled on each other, tier over tier, like bricks. When the boat headed the current, in order to steer in for the wharf, she was swept down bodily; and even after swinging into the eddy, I did not think she would ever muster way enough to fetch up the few yards she required to reach a berth. After a deal of hard puffing and groaning however, she gathered headway, and slowly crept alongside the bank.

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I next strolled through the lane which composes the town, and is occupied by a succession of bar-rooms, dancing-shops, and faro-banks or roulette-tables: they were each in full operation, although it was not yet two o'clock P.M.

These dens all stood open to the street, and were more obscene in their appointments than O 2 196 the lowest of the itinerant hells found at our races. Upon the tables however lay piles of silver, and behind them the ready *croupiers* administered. I observed wretched devils playing here, whose whole standing kit would not have brought a picaroon at *vendue*. Numbers of half-dressed, faded young girls lounged within the bar-rooms or at the doors, with here and there a couple of the same style of gemman to be met with about the silver hells of London; having, however, a bolder and more swash-buckler-like air than that of their mere petty-larceny European brotherhood.

From no party, however, did our company meet the slightest observation; although, a very few years back, for strangers to have strolled about here, without other purpose than spying into the nakedness of the land, might have proved, to say the least of it, a perilous adventure; as it is more than probable they would have been followed by a long shot, likely enough to bring a book of travels to an abrupt conclusion; but even at Natchy-under-hill, manners, if not morals, are improving. Murder is not nigh so common here as it was a few seasons back; although now and then one of an extraordinary 197 nature does take place; a few months back, for instance, an up-river boat brought-to here, as is usual, and several of her passengers were landed: just as she was leaving the wharf, the crack of a rifle was heard, and one of the passengers, who had just gained the upper-deck after his shore-visit of an hour or so, fell dead, pierced through the head. The wheels were backed, the corpse laid on the nearest wharf by the captain, with an account of the manner of his death, and, this done, off went the steamer. An inquest returned a verdict of murder against some person unknown, which was duly reported in the journal, together with the unfortunate man's name, and an inventory of such things as were found upon him.

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It was presumed, as he was a stranger from the West country, that in a play dispute he had excited a spirit of revenge amongst some of these desperadoes, which was thus promptly gratified.

The impunity with which professed gamblers carry on their trade, and the course of crime consequent upon it, throughout these Southern countries, is one of the most crying evils existing in this society. The Legs are associated in 198 gangs, have a system perfectly organized, and possess a large capital invested in this pursuit; they are seldom alone, always armed to the teeth, bound to sustain each other, and hold life at a pin's fee. Upon the banks of these great waters they most commonly rendezvous; and not a steamboat stirs from any quarter, but one or more of the gang proceed on board, in some guise or other, according to the capability or appearance of the agent; thus every passenger's business and means become known—no difficult matter amongst men whose nature is singularly simple and frank, and who are as prompt to detail their own affairs as they are curious to know those of their fellows—a little play carried on during the passage opens to the observant gambler the habits of his prey, chiefly the planters of the up-country. These planters arrive in New Orleans or some other entrepôt, settle with their agent or broker, and often receive very large sums in balance of the crop of the past season, or in advance upon the next, intended for the purchase of slaves, &c. Meantime the sharper is on the pigeon's track; the toils are spread abroad by the gang, some of whom inhabit the same hotel probably, drink at the same 199 bar, or, it may be, occupy the same chamber; thus, with nothing to do, and his naturally excitable mind fired by an addition of stimulant, if the victim escapes, it is by miracle. Hundreds are plundered yearly in this systematic way: nor, if at all troublesome, does the affair end here; for these gamblers are no half-measure men; they have a ready specific to silence noisy pigeons, and are right prompt in applying it.

No persons are better aware of the existence of this fraternity, and of its great influence all over these countries, than the people themselves; but partly from custom, and more

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through fear, it is permitted to exist: a false feeling of honour also prevails, which interferes to prevent the plundered taking active measures lest their informing might be attributed to the circumstance of their having lost alone. The limitless extent of thinly populated border facilitates escape, even when the laws are awakened; whilst the funds of the community are always lavishly used to screen a comrade, and at the same time conceal the working of the system. The people themselves will, no doubt, one day interfere to abate this terrible scourge, which exists amongst them only for their ruin; and 200 when the cry is once afoot, the retribution will be awful.*

* This period has arrived, and hardly before I expected, from all I had gathered on the subject; for since this work has been in the press, I have read of an attack made upon a known rendezvous of gamblers by a party of neighbour planters near this place, by whom, after a smart action, the hold was forced and carried by assault; when, according to the usage of war, for which exceeding respectable authorities might be quoted, the garrison was immediately hanged. A proceeding of this nature reads very queerly in the London Journals, but drawing inferences from it after the rules applicable to the County Middlesex, is laughable; these civil rules might be applied with more justice to the condition of the Scottish frontier in James the First's time. In my eyes these popular movements are not only natural, but wholesome; speaking favourably for the growing morals of the people, and, in the position they occupy, the only way of eradicating speedily an association as atrocious as it is wide-spread and powerful. I have gathered much singular information on this subject, and may in some other shape, when the opportunity occurs, make it public.

After dinner rode out to the race-course, and saw Pelham, who is in training to run a mile with Hard-heart. Pelham is a handsome little chesnut, with a perfectly thorough-bred air, and gallops like a witch.

From the course, rode to the mansion of Mrs. M—r, the very *beau idéal* of a Southern dwelling, having on either front very deep porticoes 201 opening into a capacious hall, with winding stairs of stone outside leading on to a gallery twenty feet wide, which is carried

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round the building on a level with the first-floor story, and is covered by a projecting roof supported by handsome pillars: by this means the inner walls are far removed from the effect of either sun or rain, and the spacious apartments kept both cool and dry. The kitchen and other offices are detached, forming two sides of a quadrangle, of which the house is the third, and the fourth a garden.

Here I saw a negro whose age was supposed by Mrs. M—r to be about one hundred and twenty. He had been in her husband's house, who was an officer in the Spanish service, when she married, and first came here half a century back, and was then considered past labour. The old boy was quite a wag; cracked several jokes, as well as his want of teeth would let him, upon one of the company about to be married; and, on being shown a lump of fine Cavendish tobacco he had asked for, his eye sparkled like a serpent's. Mr. M—r assured me his appetite was good; and that when supplied with abundance of tobacco, he was always as at present, cheerful.

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After eleven o'clock P.M. put on my cloak, and, tempted by the fineness of the night, accompanied my friend T—r on his way to his own quarters; returning along the edge of the lofty bluff between whose foot and the river is squeezed the town of Natchez.

Whilst smoking my cigar here, the murmur of a fray came to me, borne upon the light breeze: my curiosity was excited by the indistinct sounds, and I walked along in the direction whence they came for a couple of minutes. As I neared it, the tumult grew in loudness and fierceness; men's hoarse and angry voices, mingled in hot dispute, came crashing upwards as from the deeps of hell. I bent anxiously over the cliff, as though articulate sounds might be caught three hundred feet above their source;—a louder burst ascended, then crack! crack! went a couple of shots, almost together;—the piercing shrieks of a female followed, and to these succeeded the stillness of death.

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I lay down upon the ground for several minutes, holding my ear close over the edge of the precipice, but all continued hushed. I then rose, and seated myself upon one of the benches scattered along the heights, almost doubting the 203 evidence of my senses—which told of a wild brawl and probable murder as having had place beneath the very seat I yet occupied—so universal was the tranquillity.

On one hand lay the town of Natchez, sunk in repose; the moon at full, was sleeping over it, in as pure a sky as ever poet drank joy and inspiration from; far below, wrapt in shade, lay the scene of my almost dream, the line of houses denoted by a few scattered lights, and in its front was the mighty Mississippi; rolling on in its majesty through a dominion created by itself, through regions of wilderness born of its waters and still subject to its laws; I could distinctly hear the continuous rush of the strong current; it was the only sound that moved the air. I hearkened intently to this rushing; it had indeed an absolute fascination for the ear: it was not like the hoarse roar of the ocean, now breaking along a line of beach, then again lulled as though gathering breath for a renewed effort; it was a sound monotonous and low, but which filled the ear and awed the very heart. I felt that I was listening to a voice coeval with creation, and that ceased not either by night or day! which the blast of winter could not rouse, 204 or the breath of summer hush; a voice which the buzz and bustle of noon might drive from the ear, but which the uplifting of the foundations of the world alone could silence.

Saturday , 14 *th*. —This being my last day in Natchez, I employed it in visiting any lions that might hitherto have escaped me; amongst other unlooked-for wonders, was an exhibition of pictures advertised from England, and purporting to be a choice collection of ancient and modern masters. One picture, a Bacchus and Ariadne, was finely painted; but had suffered a good deal from time and travel, combined with a dip in the Mississippi. The remainder of the collection was composed of worse pictures than are offered to connoisseurs at a pawnbroker's sale in London. The proprietor informed me that they were to be brought to the hammer and sold without reserve in a few days, when he anticipated

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a lively sale for the large pictures, the quantity of raw material used up in the work being a great consideration with the lovers of art here. I looked upon the mere fact of such a speculation being made in these countries as creditable to the people and worthy of notice. Natchez will, no doubt, 205 one day have an academy of her own; men can hardly fail to paint where nature offers so much that is beautiful for their imitation; and, indeed, I have in the remotest places seen attempts by self-taught artists that have convinced me example and encouragement alone are needed.

Learning that the steamer Carolton was to sail this afternoon, I once more descended into Natchy-under-hill, where I had an interview with the captain, who was, I found, a worthy legitimate follower of old Father Ocean, recently transferred to the service of one of his greatest tributaries: he readily promised to delay sailing for a couple of hours for me, until the play was over; this point being settled, I felt at ease, and accompanied Mr. M—r to his mother's place to dinner. The wind came from the south, and was indeed as perfumed as though blowing “o'er a bed of violets.” The perfume of early spring began to exhale from the magnolia and Cape jasmin, to a degree that rendered distance necessary to prevent its being over cloying. I felt my spirits bound within me, as on a half-wild, little thorough-bred Mississippi nag, I rattled up and down the well-turfed slopes lying along the edge of the forest.

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After dinner took a spot, called the Devil's Punch-bowl, *en route*; it is formed by a vast sinking of the river-bank, trees and soil all have gone down together, forming, an immense wooded basin of great depth and extent. As the stream undermines these forest bluffs, which it is ever acting against either on one side or other, these fallings-in must occur; indeed great changes are constantly taking place on the river; many of a very striking kind are pointed out as having occurred within the memory of persons yet living.

As we rode hence to the town, a distance of four or five miles, the wind shifted to the west; and a smart shower commenced; an hour later, and this lovely day set amidst a violent

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storm of rain, lightning, and wind; so I was fated to descend the bluff by water, as I first mounted it: my vehicle was improved though, for I had this time procured a comfortable carriage. By half-past ten I was snugly stowed away, bag and baggage, on board the Carolton; and by eleven we were following the eternal current amidst a deluge of rain, and a gale of wind blowing from N.W., with a cold which, falling suddenly upon one's fibre, unstrung by three or four warm days, 207 was positively paralyzing. I occupied a stateroom by favour; but, a couple of panes of glass being out of the window, I suffered for my exclusiveness.

Sunday , 15 th. —Snow falling, the first I have seen in the South; our boat constantly stopping to load cotton, so that we, at the close of the day, have made only some twenty miles: the night came on clear, and tolerably mild. By eight o'clock P.M. we had received from our several halts one thousand bales of the staple, all of which were stowed away upon our deck, galleries, &c. till daylight could no longer be expected to visit us—even the doors were blocked up, as in the Alabama. Thank Heaven! our present imprisonment is for a shorter period, our worthy captain assuring us that by daylight on Tuesday we shall be alongside the Levee.

At one of our landing-places we found a couple of outcast-looking white-men bivouacking beneath a tree before a half-burned log, with a couple of tin saucepans standing near: one of the precious pair was extended on the damp soil, bare-headed, with a blanket rolled about him; the other sat, Indian-like, wrapped in a similar robe. For the three hours we were delayed, 208 whilst loading three hundred bales of cotton, I do not think either of them moved; they were as miserable specimens of humanity as might be met with. I could not help contrasting these members of the privileged class with a gang of stout slaves who were employing their Sunday's leisure in assisting to load the boat, for which service they each received about two shillings sterling: I need hardly say the contrast was decidedly in favour of the negroes.

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Monday , 16 th. —Day fine, and not so cold: passed Bayou Sarah, as high up as which the tide flows, rising about six inches once in twenty-four hours.

Opposite Prophet's Island saw a large square ark, moored to the bank, surmounted by a pole from which a white flag was fluttering. I was in great hopes this was the Mississippi theatre, which I knew from report to be somewhere in this latitude on its annual voyage to New Orleans; but it turned out to be the store of a Yankee pedlar on a trading voyage.

This floating theatre, about which I make constant inquiry, and which I yet hope to fall in with, is not the least original or singular speculation ventured on these waters. It was projected 209 and is carried on by the Elder Chapman, well known for many years as a Covent Garden actor: his practice is to have a building suitable to his views erected upon a raft at some point high up the Mississippi, or on one of its tributaries, whence he takes his departure early in the fall, with scenery, dresses, and decorations, all prepared for representation. At each village or large plantation he hoists banner and blows trumpet, and few who love a play suffer his ark to pass the door, since they know it is to return no more until the next year; for, however easy may prove the downward course of the drama's temple, to retrograde, upwards, is quite beyond its power. Sometimes a large steamer from Louisville, with a thousand souls on board, will command a play whilst taking in fuel, when the profit must be famous. The *corps dramatique* is, I believe, principally composed of members of his own family, which is numerous, and, despite of alligators and yellow fever, likely to increase and flourish. When the Mississippi theatre reaches New Orleans, it is abandoned and sold for fire-wood; the manager and troop returning in a steamer to build a new one, VOL. II. P 210 with such improvements as increased experience may have suggested.

This course Mr. Chapman has pursued for three or four seasons back, and, as I am told by many who have encountered this aquatic company, very profitably. I trust he may continue

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to do so until he makes a fortune, and can bequeath to his kin the undisputed sovereignty of the Mississippi circuit.

Tuesday , 17 th. —At six A.M. was once more safely landed upon the already busy Levee of New Orleans; here I rested until the 22nd; on which day I took steam direct to Mobile, accomplishing the trip in forty-eight hours, one night of which we passed grounded on the Rigolets, a sandy difficult pass connecting Lac Pontchartrain with Lac Borgne.

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MOBILE.

This little city was to me one of the most attractive spots I visited south of the Potomac. I came upon it at my first visit after a severe roughing, and found a fine climate and old friends, whose warm welcome could not have come in better time. I found here also the best conducted and best appointed hotel in the Southern country, and society congenial and amiable: all these combined go a good way to prejudice a man in favour of a place which in itself may have little to recommend it. Mobile, however, has claims which are rapidly increasing its population and its trade; indeed the ratio of advance in both is equal to that of any other place in the States; in proof of which, I find by a report just issued of the returns of the foreign trade, exclusive of the coasting business, which is considerable, that the increase has been gradual and steady, and in five years stands thus:

In the year 1830, the total value of the importations P 2 212 to the port of Mobile was 1,044,135 dollars: the value of the exports for the same year was 1,994,365 dollars. In 1834, the value of the imports is stated at 3,088,811 dollars: the exports for the same year at 6,270,197 dollars. For the current year, I am credibly assured that an addition of one-third to these last amounts will not much overrate the enormous increase to which, should peace continue, each year must add for many seasons to come, since the influx of planters to Alabama is clearing the cane-brake with a rapidity unprecedented even in this country: the Indian reserves are all coming into cultivation as fast as they

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are vacated; and, in fact, Alabama at this day may be said to present a spectacle of successful energy and industry not to be surpassed. A railroad is now in progress, the prospectus for which was in circulation during my visit, which is to connect North and South Alabama, commencing in the valley of Tennessee, and running to some navigable point of the harbour of Mobile. A glance at a map of the States will at once render obvious the immense importance such a line of communication will be of to this city, concentrating on this point the trade, not only of North Alabama and the Tennessee valley, but some of the most fertile portions of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi.

By this railway the great obstacle in the way of the trade of the Tennessee valley, the muscle shoals, will be avoided, whilst, at a fair calculation, it is expected that the increase of cotton received into Mobile will amount to one hundred thousand bales: besides a vast quantity of pork, beef, bacon, flour, lard, whisky, &c. that now seeks a market at New Orleans, through those great natural channels, the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers: to the navigation of the first-named river the shoals have hitherto been a serious drawback, detaining laden craft of all kinds for weeks, and even months, until, late in winter or early in spring, a rise in the river enabled them to float over into the highway of the Western world, the Mississippi.

The grounds on which the vast and seemingly extravagant increase of the cotton crop of this State of Alabama may be justified, are to be found, not only in the great fertility of the virgin soil yearly brought under cultivation, but in the unprecedented increase of population. This very year, it is calculated, not less than 214 twenty-five thousand slaves have been brought into this country from the older States on the Atlantic; this amount will, in all probability, be exceeded by the increase of next season, as there are many millions of acres of the most fertile land in the Union yet in the hands of Government for sale, lately conceded in exchange by the Indians of the Creek and Cherokee tribes.

The great cause of emigration from the Atlantic States is to be looked for in the temptation offered the planter by a soil of vastly superior fertility. In South Carolina and in most parts

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of Georgia, it will appear that a good average crop will give one bale or bag of cotton, weighing 310 lbs. for each working-hand employed on the plantation; now, in Alabama, four or five bales, each weighing 430 lbs. is a fair average for an able-bodied slave engaged in the cultivation; and I have conversed with many planters, holding places upon the bottom-lands of the river, who assured me their crop was yearly ten bales of cotton for each full-grown hand.

When it is considered that this season the value of cotton has been ranging from sixpence-halfpenny to ninepence per pound, the enormous 215 receipts of some of these persons, who make from four hundred to three thousand bales of 430 lbs. weight each, may be imagined.

These are the men who have been my companions on all my late steamboat trips, for this is the season that affords them *relâche* and brings them together; and in this city especially, as at Natchez, it is by this singular class I am surrounded: they are not difficult to comprehend, and a slight sketch of their condition and habits may not be uninteresting, as they form the great mass now inhabiting this mighty region, and it is from them a probable future population of one hundred million of souls must receive language, habits, and laws.

We generally associate with the Southern planter ideas of indolence, inertness of disposition, and a love of luxury and idle expense: nothing, however, can be less characteristic of these frontier tamers of the swamp and of the forest: they are hardy, indefatigable, and enterprising to a degree; despising and contemning luxury and refinement, courting labour, and even making a pride of the privations which they, without any necessity, continue to endure with their families. They are prudent without being at all mean 216 or penurious, and are fond of money without having a tittle of avarice. This may at first sight appear stated from a love of paradox, yet nothing can be more strictly and simply true; this is, in fact, a singular race, and they seem especially endowed by Providence to forward the great work in which they are engaged—to clear the

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wilderness and lay bare the wealth of this rich country with herculean force and restless perseverance, spurred by a spirit of acquisition no extent of possession can satiate.

Most men labour that they may, at some contemplated period, repose on the fruits of their industry; adventurers in unhealthy regions, generally, seek to amass wealth that they may escape from their *pénible* abodes, and recompense themselves by after enjoyment for the perils and privations they have endured. Not so the planters of this south-western region; were their natures moulded after this ordinary fashion, these States, it is true, might long continue mines of wealth, to be wrought by a succession of adventurers; but never would they become what Providence has evidently designed they shall be,—great countries, powerful governments, and the home of millions of freemen yet unborn.

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These men seek wealth from the soil to return it back to the soil, with the addition of the sweat of their brows tracking every newly-broken furrow. Their pride does not consist in fine houses, fine raiment, costly services of plate, or refined cookery: they live in humble dwellings of wood, wear the coarsest habits, and live on the plainest fare. It is their pride to have planted an additional acre of cane-brake, to have won a few feet from the river, or cleared a thousand trees from the forest; to have added a couple of slaves to their family, or a horse of high blood to their stable.

It is for these things that they labour from year to year. Unconscious agents in the hands of the Almighty, it is to advance the great cause of civilization, whose pioneers they are, that they endure toil for their lives, without the prospect of reaping any one personal advantage which might not have been attained in the first ten years of their labour.

It is not through ignorance either that they continue in these simple and rude habits of life. Most of these planters visit the Northern States periodically, as well as New Orleans; their wealth, and the necessity the merchant feels to 218 conciliate their good-will, makes them the ready guests at tables where every luxury and refinement abounds: but they view

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these without evincing the least desire to imitate them, prefer generally the most ordinary liquors to the finest-flavoured wines, and, as guests, are much easier to please than to catch; for not only do they appear indifferent to these luxuries, but they seek to avoid them, condemn their use, and return to their log-houses and the cane-brake to seek in labour for enjoyment.

There must, however, be a great charm in the unrestrained freedom of this sort of life; since I have frequently met women, who were bred in the North, well educated, and accustomed for years to all the *agrémens* of good society, who yet assured me that they were happiest when living in the solitude of their plantation, and only felt dull whilst wandering about the country or recruiting at some public watering-place.

The great drawback to these frontiers, and one which will, I fear, exist for some time, unless the citizens of the towns take the law into their own hands, and execute it in a summary manner, is to be found in the presence of certain idle ruffians who exist here. The only matter of surprise to me is, that there are so few of the description, and that in such a country crime is so rare, where the facility afforded for escape is great, and where the laws view with such reverence the liberty of the subject.

One or two anecdotes of recent occurrence will, however, do more to put the reader in possession of the true state of the case than a volume of unsupported reasoning.

During the last night I acted in Mobile, whilst on the stage, I heard a slight noise in the upper boxes; a rush was made to a particular point; then a moment's scuffle, and all was silent. The ladies in the dress-boxes had not moved, and very little sensation was communicated to the crowded pit: the whole thing, in fact, was over in as short a time as I have occupied in the telling of it.

After the play I accompanied a party of ladies to the house of Mr. M—e to sup, and here, for the first time, learned, through an inquiry casually made, that during that slight scuffle a citizen had been killed by the blow of a knife, given by an intemperate ruffian named

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M'Crew, who had quietly descended the stairs afterwards, accompanied by his brother. These men were 220 from the country, were known disturbers of the peace, and rarely made their appearance without bloodshed following.

The next morning I inquired as to the result, when it appeared the homicide was adjudged manslaughter in a chance-medley; and the ruffian, who had voluntarily appeared before the magistrate, was admitted to bail. Now here was a case where Lynch law might have been most beneficially employed: the citizens should have caught both these ruffians, and hung them at their gates *in terrorem*.

I may add here, that, within a month of this time, these fiends atrociously murdered the child of a planter, out of revenge for some real or fancied affront; and, finding the exploit likely to prove serious, fled to Texas.*

* Since this sheet has been in the course of printing, I have received an account of the capture of the murderers, from a correspondent at Mobile. The State had offered a large reward, and taken active measures for the M'Crews' detection. The retreat of one was traced out in the Mexican territory; and the details of his surprisal and capture, whilst resident amongst the Comanche Indians, are absolutely romantic, and highly creditable to the courage and patience of the captor, a private individual. I have to regret that these details are too long to be inserted by way of note. The murderers (or one of them at least) are now at Mobile awaiting trial.

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My next illustration is of a kind so little in keeping with the year 1835, that it would be a better story if dated from the debateable land, anno Dom. 1535. The hero of the fight I am about to narrate is as fine a specimen of an old Irishman as ever I met with, and I have seen him frequently: his name is Robert Singleton, and his residence is Baldwin county, in this State.

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It appears that Mr. Singleton had lent to a Mr. English four or five negroes, whom at a certain time he claimed, according to agreement, and took back to his own place: hence arose a dispute as to the right of possession; which dispute the sons of Mr. English decided upon settling in a right border fashion.

Accompanied by three of their white neighbours, and three of their father's slaves, the two Englishes repaired to the plantation of Mr. Singleton. He was absent; but they surrounded the house, and, after a resistance on the part of the slaves, which cost one of them his life, the number claimed were made prisoners, and marched off for the country of their captors.

Meantime, a lad who had escaped from the house on the first attack, found, and communicated ²²² the surprisal and the result to his master, Mr. Singleton, who, accompanied by his eldest son, without a moment's hesitation, put spurs to horse, and took the line of country likely to cut off the retreat of the enemy.

Early on the next morning, July 4th, the Singletons came upon a bridge they knew the Englishes must cross; and, not discovering new tracks, decided to halt here: they had not waited half an hour, when the other party came in sight.

A parley was called. Singleton, senior, declared himself and son resolute to maintain the bridge against all comers, unless his slaves were restored.

The elder brother, W. English, begged the Singletons not to fire, as they would surrender the negroes: at the same time, the party alighted; but as Singleton turned his head to desire his son to stand fast, he received a shot in the left shoulder; and, on a second, saw his son fall dead across his feet. Clapping his gun to his shoulder, he shot David English through the brain; a barrel was at the same moment levelled against him by Wm. English, but snapped: again he called on Singleton not to shoot; but he this ²²³ time called in vain. Taking up his son's loaded piece, he shot his adversary whilst in the act of stooping to lift his dead brother's rifle.

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One more shot was discharged from the English party, and Singleton received a second ball in his side. The assailants then fled, leaving the resolute old planter master of the field, with his eldest son, a young man of the best habits, dead at his feet.

His wounds did not prevent his collecting his negroes after the flight of his enemies; he then walked back half a mile to where he had left his horse, mounted, and rode home, although upwards of fifty years of age. Mortification was for some time apprehended; but he at last recovered perfectly, and was, when I left Mobile, in robust health.

The detail of this affair, as it stands in the journal, is concluded by a regular list with the names of killed and wounded; but not one word of comment. It is now in my possession, and the account may be relied upon as authentic in every particular.

The streets of Mobile are covered over with a kind of shell that abounds in the neighbourhood: this binds with the fine sand, and makes 224 the cleanest, best road possible, and is besides, I believe, very durable. Since the swampy ways have been replaced by good roads of this material, the health of the city has never been attacked by fever, which was frequent before. The cholera is unknown here, although its ravages in the south-western country were, and in fact are, terrible.

The market is abundantly supplied with provisions, fish, and game of every variety. Here is one of the best-ordered hotels in the States, and altogether as many inducements to the visitor or settler as any place I saw. The summer I had no means of proving; but from all hands learn that the heat, although continuous, is by no means excessive; whilst, within five miles, on the heights of Springhill, the nights are, at the hottest season, absolutely cold.

A ball, given in honour of the birth-day of Washington, by the volunteer corps of the city, afforded me an admirable occasion of seeing the people, since the committee was kind enough to send me a ticket.

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Here, to the number of six hundred, was assembled all of the democracy of Mobile having a claim to the term respectable, properly applied 225 to habit and character, not to calling or wealth. I have seldom seen better dressed, and never a better conducted assembly, whilst nothing could be more perfectly democratic.

Here you might see the merchant's lady, whose French ball-dress cost one hundred and fifty dollars, dancing in the same set with the *modiste* who made it up; whilst the merchant changed hands with the wife of his master-drayman, and the wealthy planter's daughter footed to her brother's *schneider*, himself tricked out in some nondescript uniform of his own making. Yet were all perfectly well conducted, and equally happy: nor is it found that any ill consequence or undue familiarity continues after these public occasions restore each to his, or her, own sphere, or pursuit.

The supper was laid out most tastefully upon the galleries surrounding the inner court of the hotel, enclosed for the occasion with canvass, and the pillars wreathed with shrubs and flowers. At the upper end was an ugly, ill-dressed picture, which, I was informed, represented Liberty; a proof how the imagination can deify its own object of veneration, for a less inviting gentlewoman it would be difficult to conceive. VOL. II. Q

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On the 7th of March I returned to New Orleans, *via* Portersville; and, on halting at the house midway the forest, was advised by my countryman the landlord to dine, by all means, if I was hungry; for he had "an illegant turkey, a wild one, and a Tennessee ham, with a lump of roast beef, rare and tinder." I followed his counsel, and made a most excellent meal on the wild turkey, a bird of which I should never tire. I set it down as the foremost of all winged things yet appropriated to the use of the kitchen.

I arrived at New Orleans, and again passed three weeks amidst attentions that never wearied, and the most flattering professional success. I will here, as I have before done, drop my Journal, and put my Impressions together in a less desultory form.

NEW ORLEANS.

The day of my first arrival at this capital of many waters, this city *sui generis* , was one to which I had looked forward with much impatience and highly-roused expectations.

The disastrous affair of 1812 had made New Orleans a name familiar to Britain, and given to it a celebrity more general amongst all sorts of men than its vast trade alone would have achieved for it in double the time.

From the day also of my landing on the continent I had never heard this city named without accompanying remarks being elicited descriptive of its rapid increase, its singular position, and motley population, together with the speculations founded on the promise of its future greatness derived from its present healthful condition; that is, its political and commercial sanity; since no term can be worse applied, as illustrative of the views entertained of it by the Q 2 228 North, whether physically or morally considered; views however that, on both these points, I have decided are singularly overcharged, even by persons one would conceive possessed of the information likely to lead to a correct judgment. This I attribute partly to the habit we are in of taking reports of places for granted, and repeating them from father to son without much personal examination, or rather comparison, and partly to the changes constantly operating upon society here, with a rapidity at least equal to the growth of building or the increase of produce and population; changes which come like Duncan's couriers, "thick as hail," the last giving the flat lie to the truth just told; to be, in turn, proved false by a successor.

To a stranger, the point of observance most original and striking, and which will at once inform and interest him, is the view from the Levee, with a walk along this artificial embankment, which commencing a hundred miles above New Orleans, and thence waiting on the stream whose rule it circumscribes, here bends like a drawn bow about the city, forming a well-frequented quay of some seven miles.

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For three miles of this, the Levee is bordered 229 by tiers of merchant shipping from every portion of the trading world, and close against it, those of the greatest tonnage, having once chosen a berth, may load or unload without shifting a line; a facility derived from nature that no port in the world can rival.

Along the whole extent of this line situated below the Levee, but at a distance of some two hundred feet, runs a range of store-houses, cotton-presses, and shops, connected by tolerably well-flagged side-walks; and certainly in no other place is such accommodation more absolutely required, the middle space or street, so called, being, after rain, a slough, to which that of Despond, as described by Bunyan, was a *bagatelle*; and floundering through, or pounded in which, are lines of hundreds of light drays, each drawn by three or four fine mules, and laden with the great staple, cotton.*

* These ways oftentimes, in continued wet weather, become impassable, to the great injury of business: but remedy there is none, save patience; for any animal under the size of an elephant would be lost in the mud, swallowed wholly up.

At both extremities of the tiers of shipping, but chiefly at the south, lie numberless steamboats of all sizes; and yet again, flanking these, 230 are fleets of those rude rafts and arks constructed by the dwellers on the hundred waters of the far West; and thence pushed forth, freighted with the produce of their farms, to find, after many days, a safe haven and a sure market here.

Let it not be forgotten that many of the primitive-looking transports lying at this point have performed a drift of three thousand miles. Their cargoes discharged, they are immediately disposed of to be broken up; their crews working their way back on board the steamers, to return in the following year with a vessel and a freight, both of which are at this time flourishing in full vegetation in field and in forest.

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The interest with which I looked upon these far-travelled barks I dare hardly trust myself to declare or to describe; they told me of men and of their increase, who, only for the waters on which they live, would be as little known and quite as uncivilized as the Indian whose land they have redeemed from the wild beast or more savage hunter, to bid it teem with abundance, and to be a refuge and a home for millions to rejoice in.

The appearance of the Levee during this season 231 is most animated. At the quarter occupied by, the great Western steamboats, the lading and discharging cargoes seldom ceases during the busy months, when each hour appears to be grudged if not devoted to toil. At night, fires mark the spots where work is most brisk, and the warehouses along the line are frequently illuminated from the street to the upper story: crowds of labourers, sailors, bargemen, and draymen cheer, and order, and swear in every language in use amongst this mixed population; and, above all, at regular intervals, rises the wild chorus of the slaves labouring in gangs, who, if miserable, are certainly the merriest miseries in existence.

No scene is more likely to impress a stranger with a full knowledge of the vast deal of trade transacted here in a few months than this prolonged bustle at a time when the rest of the city sleeps; and, as he pursues his way amongst tens of thousands of bales of cotton that actually cover the Levee for miles, he will cease to doubt of the wealth which he learns is on all hands accumulating with a rapidity almost partaking of the marvellous.

I had heard in the North much said about the 232 great danger incurred by a night-stroll in New Orleans, and so will the stranger who next follows after me: but do not let these bug-a-boo tales deter him from a walk upon the Levee after ten P.M. It is not amongst these sons of industry, however rude, that he will encounter either insult or danger: I have traversed it often on foot and on horseback, and never met with the first, or had the slightest cause to apprehend the latter.

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In a city like this, amongst a concourse of strangers, the worst sort of men are doubtless to be met with, as in all large cities; but surely not in greater numbers. I question whether London or Paris can boast of less crime in proportion; certainly, not fewer felonies. Here, it is too true, a quarrel in hot blood is often followed by a shot or a stroke with the ready poniard; but for this both parties are equally prepared, and resolute to abide the issue: and for the stranger, all he has to do is to keep out of low places of gambling and dissipation, and, if in a large hotel, to keep his door locked; a precaution which would be as much called for at Cheltenham or Spa, were the congregated numbers equally great; although, in the latter places, 233 I admit, the thieves might be nicer men, better dressed, and not chewers of 'baccy.

The streets, after nightfall, are the very quietest I ever saw in any place possessing one-third of the population. The theatres, I repeat, as far as my observation goes, might serve as models to cities boasting greater claims to refinement.

As a set-off, however, let the stranger visit the gambling tables, which are numerous; the low balls, masked or other, occurring every night, for whites or quadroons, or both; let him visit the low bar-rooms, or even look into that of the first hotel, which bar forms a half-circle of forty feet, yet is, during ten hours of the twenty-four, only to be approached in turn, and whose daily receipt is said to exceed three hundred dollars for drams; and he will, if such be his only sources of information, naturally come to conclusions anything but favourable to the moral condition of New Orleans.

The crowd so occupied, however, be it remembered, is composed of strangers, or what is here called the transient population, at this season counting at least forty thousand persons, the greatest proportion of whom are here without a home except the bar-room of a public-house, or 234 a shelter save the bedchamber which they have in common with from three to twenty companions, as luck or favour may preside over their billet.

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This assemblage is compounded of men from every section of the Union,—the quiet Yankee, cautiously picking his way to fortune, with small means and large designs; the gay Virginian, seeking a new location on the rich land of Mississippi or Alabama; the suddenly enriched planter of Louisiana, full of spare cash, which can only be got rid of in a frolic, having settled with his merchant and purchased the contemplated addition to his slave stock, and resolute to enjoy his holiday after his own fashion; the half-civilized borderers from the banks of the Gazoo, or the prairies of Texas, come hither with the first produce ever won by industry from the swamp or the forest, to see New Orleans, form connexions, and arrange credit for future operations.

Numerous as are these classes, they are yet readily distinguished by one who has seen and observed them in turns, and noted their characteristics, which are indeed sufficiently distinct.

The Yankee, slow, observant, concentrated, 235 with thin, close-compressed lips, bilious complexion, and anxious countenance, may be picked out amidst a hundred other men, edging cautiously from place to place, scanning every group, and having, as it were, eyes and ears for all present.

The Virginian, tall of stature, thin and flexile of form, of an easy carriage, with an open uplook, and an expression at once reckless and humorous, talking rapidly and swearing loudly, frank in his *abord*, of engaging deportment, and assuming as though there were no country so good as the “Old Dominion,” and no better man than her son.

The Kentuck farmer—whose marked characteristics are pervading all the States bordering on the Mississippi, and who, together with the Buck-eye of Ohio, will ultimately give tone and manner to the dwellers on its thousand streams—of a stronger outline and coarser stamp, as is fitted to and well-becoming the pioneer of the grandest portion of the continent, and of one who is putting forth the thew and sinew of a giant, to benefit posterity; his only present recompense the possession of a rude independence, and the

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consciousness of increasing wealth, to add to which 236 his energies are unceasingly devoted; his relaxation, meantime, an occasional frolic or debauch, which he grapples with, as his father did with fortune and the forest, closely and constantly, only pausing for breath through sheer exhaustion, or prostration rather. His person is square, and better knit together than most men's; his complexion clear, though bronzed by exposure to sun and storm; his manner rustic, but not rude; with a self-possession that is evident at a glance, and which makes him at all times equal to any chance or change that may cross him. Good-humoured, sociable, and very observant, his confidence is quickly won, or lost, according to a first impression. Proffering largely, yet ever ready to more than make his words good; full of kindness to those he loves or esteems; boisterous, rude, and ill to deal with, where he dislikes; capable withal of rapid refinement, and having a ready perception of its advantages.

The Creole of Louisiana forms another distinct specimen to be met with here, though seldom mixing much with either of the first named classes. He invariably conserves much of the air and appearance of *la belle France*, and can never be mistaken, offering, according to his 237 disposition, all the varieties of his original stock, from the amiable deportment and companionable *bonhomie* of the well-bred Frenchman, to the fierce *brusquerie* and swaggering sneer of the gallant of the *estaminet*.

What will be the result of a complete amalgamation of all these classes, which one day must arrive, together with an admixture yet more opposed,—an admixture as certain nevertheless as is the march of time, but which cannot now be named, and which these classes would each and all shudder to contemplate,—an amalgamation that has already begun, and is in truth in full progress; and this increase a falling-off in the price of cotton, so as to render slave-labour less valuable, will infallibly hasten in a ratio perfectly geometrical.

Time is the surest emancipator after all; for proof of which look not to the prospect presented here, but turn back on the old States. At what period did philanthropy triumph

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there? why exactly at that point where interest joined issue with its dictates; the slave was, in fact, admitted as a hired labourer, when he ceased to be profitable as a bondsman: and that day will arrive here also, as surely as that the sun shines on 238 Louisiana; and the lower valley of the Mississippi will yet be peopled by a free and hardy race, born on the soil made each year more fruitful and less pestilential, until it shall rival the valleys of the Ganges or the Nile, if not in the splendour of art, at least in the more solid and enduring possessions,—education, intelligence, and freedom; for only whilst so sustained can the institutions of democracy exist; these once failing to advance hand-in-hand with population, the whole fabric will, with inconceivable rapidity, be resolved into a rude anarchy for some bold mind to re-form and re-model.

One of the greatest works now in progress here, is the canal planned to connect Lac Pontchartrain with the city. In the month of February it was completed to within three miles of the lake; and as it was a pleasant ride to the point where the digging was in progress, I two or three times visited the scene, after its bearings had been explained by the two intelligent persons under whose guidance I first, penetrated the swamp.

I only wish that the wise men at home who coolly charge the present condition of Ireland upon the inherent laziness of her population, 239 could be transported to this spot, to look upon the hundreds of fine fellows labouring here beneath a sun that at this winter season was at times insufferably fierce, and amidst a pestilential swamp whose exhalations were foetid to a degree scarcely endurable even for a few moments; wading amongst stumps of trees, mid-deep in black mud, clearing the spaces pumped out by powerful steam-engines; wheeling, digging, hewing, or bearing burdens it made one's shoulders ache to look upon; exposed meantime to every change of temperature, in log-huts, laid down in the very swamp, on a foundation of newly-felled trees, having the water lying stagnant between the floor-logs, whose interstices, together with those of the side-walls, are open, pervious alike to sun or wind, or snow. Here they subsist on the coarsest fare, holding life on a tenure as uncertain as does the leader of a forlorn hope; excluded from all the advantages of civilization; often at the mercy of a hard contractor, who wrings his profits from their blood;

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and all this for a pittance that merely enables them to exist, with little power to save, or a hope beyond the continuance of the like exertion.

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Such are the labourers I have seen here, and have still found them civil and courteous, with a ready greeting for the stranger inquiring into their condition, and a quick jest on their own equipment, which is frequently, it must be admitted, of a whimsical kind.

Here too were many poor women with their husbands; and when I contemplated their wasted forms and haggard sickly looks, together with the close swamp whose stagnant air they were doomed to breathe, whose aspect changeless and deathlike alone met their eyes, and fancied them, in some hour of leisure, calling to memory the green valley and the pure river, or the rocky glen and sparkling brook of their distant home, with all the warmth of colouring the imaginative spirit of the Irish peasant can so well supply, my heart has swelled and my eyes have filled with tears.

I cannot hope to inspire the reader with my feelings upon a mere sketch like this; but if I could set the scene of these poor labourers' exile fairly forth, with all the sad accompaniments detailed; could I show the course of the hardy, healthy pair, just landed, to seek fortune on these long-sighed-for shores, with spirits newly lifted by 241 hope and brighter prospects from the apathy into which compulsory idleness and consequent recklessness had reduced them at home; and then paint the spirit-sinking felt on a first view of the scene of their future labour,—paint the wild revel designed to drown remembrance, and give heart to the new-comers; describe the nature of the toil where exertion is taxed to the uttermost, and the weary frame stimulated by the worst alcohol, supplied by the contractor, at a cheap rate for the purpose of exciting a rivalry of exertion amongst these simple men.

Next comes disease, either a sweeping pestilence that deals wholesale on its victims, or else a gradual sinking of mind and body; finally, the abode in the hospital, if any comrade

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is interested enough for the sufferer to bear him to it; else, the solitary log-hut and quicker death. Could these things with their true colours be set forth in detail before the veriest grinder of the poor that ever drove the peasant to curse and quit the soil of his birth, he would cover his eyes from the light of heaven, and feel that he yet possessed a heart and human sympathy.

At such works all over this continent the Irish are the labourers chiefly employed, and the mortality VOL. II. R 242 amongst them is enormous,—a mortality I feel certain might be vastly lessened by a little consideration being given to their condition by those who employ them. At present they are, where I have seen them working here, worse lodged than the cattle of the field; in fact, the only thought bestowed upon them appears to be, by what expedient the greatest quantity of labour may be extracted from them at the cheapest rate to the contractor. I think, however, that a better spirit is in progress amongst the companies requiring this class of labourers; in fact it becomes necessary this should be so, since, prolific as is the country from whence they are drawn, the supply would in a little time cease to keep pace with the demand, and slave labour cannot be substituted to any extent, being much too expensive; a good slave costs at this time two hundred pounds sterling, and to have a thousand such swept off a line of canal in one season, would call for prompt consideration.

Independent of interest, Christian charity and justice should alike suggest that the labourers ought to be provided with decent quarters, that sufficient medical aid should always be at hand, and above all, that the brutalizing, accursed 243 practice of extorting extra labour by the stimulus of corn spirit should be wholly forbidden.

Let it be remembered that, although rude and ignorant, these men are not insensible to good impressions, or incapable of distinguishing between a kindly and paternal care of their well-doing, and the mercenary cold-blooded bargain which exacts the last scruple of flesh it has paid for.

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I have inquired much, and have heard many worthy, well-informed men comment upon this subject, and feelingly regret the existing system; but it is only by the close supervision of the Directors of Public Works that this crying evil can be effectively checked, and the condition and character of the labourer improved.* R 2

* That this task would not be difficult I have the best authority for asserting,—the experience of one of the ablest and most honourable-minded men of this or any other country, Captain R. S—n. Finding on the great work, in the conducting of which he was a principal, the usual number of riots and disputes, he, with the practical good sense for which he is distinguished, applied himself to discover the cause: this he generally traced up to some real or fancied injustice complained of by the labourer, and quickly resented by outrage on his part. He next personally interfered, heard patiently, decided fairly, and in a kind manner made clear the ground of every decision for or against the labourers. In a short time he by this course completely won the confidence of these poor fellows, and not another riot occurred. In his absence even, however prolonged, any dispute growing to violence was quieted in a moment by one of the elders suggesting that they should wait quietly till the Captain came home.

No decision, however, against their views was ever objected to; and it was most gratifying to me to hear Captain S—n assert that he had never met with any class of men whose regard for even-handed justice appeared so strong as that of these poor Irish labourers.

244

At present the priest is the only stay and comfort of these men; the occasional presence of the minister of God alone reminds them that they are not forgotten of their kind: and but for this interference, they would grow in a short time wholly abandoned and become uncontrollable; unfortunately of these men, who conscientiously fulfil their holy functions, there are but too few,—the climate, and fatigue soon incapacitates all but the very robust. Those who follow the ministry of God in the swamp and in the forest must have cast the

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pride of flesh indeed out from them, since they brave the martyr's fate without a martyr's triumph.

If a few of our goodly Cheltenham Parsons, the non-resident gentlemen, who so laudably desire to uphold their church, were to come here, they 245 would find ample employment for their leisure, and might make hosts of converts; for courage and kindliness of heart are irresistible in appeal; and it is on these foundations, whether amongst the bogs and mountains of Ireland, or in the wilderness of America, that the Catholic priest of our days has built the unimpeachable influence he exercises over his people.

The gloomy picture of the labourer's condition, which my mention of this canal has drawn from me, may by some be considered overcharged; but I protest I have, on the contrary, withheld details of suffering from heat, and cold, and sickness, which my heart at this moment aches when I recall.

To return to the canal. It in all probability will never be used for the purpose designed, even when completed; it was, in fact, the bonus proffered to the legislature by a bank which required a certain charter; it will, at least, answer the purpose of a great drain, and so far must prove of infinite local importance, the more especially since it is in contemplation to redeem the whole of the surrounding swamp,—a measure that, if effectually carried out, will probably render New Orleans as healthy as any city south of the Potomac.

246

The police of this place I should imagine at present better than in the Northern cities, since noise or, disturbance in the streets is a thing unknown; and after ten at night everything is usually still and quiet, excepting upon the Levee, where work at this season appears to go on by night as by day.

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THE LEVEE MARKET.

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Viewed at an early hour, the large marketplace on the Levee is a lounge of a most amusing kind, exhibiting at one glance a more striking picture of the variety of people to be found here than might be attained in any other place.

Here may be seen the Spanish creole, cloaked and capped, followed by a half-naked slave, making, with a grave quiet air, and in slow deliberate speech, his frugal market. Bustling along directly in his wake, but with frequent halts and crossings from side to side, comes a lively daughter of France, her market-slave leading a little boy fancifully dressed *à la hussarde*; with these she holds a running fire of chatter, only interrupted by salutations to passing friends, or nods and smiles to those more distant. Look yet a little longer, and, yawing along in squads of three and four abreast, you will see sailors of 248 all kinds cheapening fruit and vegetables, together with cooks, stewards, and all their dinky subordinates. Here is the up-looking, dare-devil Jack of Old England; the clean, holiday-looking, well-dressed seaman of Marseilles, with large gold ear-rings twinkling beneath the rim of his high-crowned bright glazed hat. Next, moving stealthily by, with an uneasy, restless look, notice a couple of low-built, light-limbed, swarthy fellows, moustached and bearded, one wearing a red shirt and a broad-leafed Panama hat, the other clad in a white *blouse* with a scarlet worsted sash drawn about his hips, a Montero cap, naked legs, and white canvass slippers.

These fellows might, on the high seas, be easily mistaken for pirates; here they are understood to belong to some one of the many snaky schooners lying here, hailing from Havannah and the various ports along the Mexican Gulf, and whose calling may be honest enough, but which certainly look as though the necessity of stowing a cargo had been quite overlooked in their building.

Meantime, circling about the outside of the building, stroll a band of twenty or thirty Indians, dressed in all the picturesque, draggled finery it is their delight to exhibit; the men half drunk or wholly so, thrusting, as they 249 pass, their filthy fingers into the negro girls' baskets, and hiccuping forth some inquiry, to be repulsed by a monosyllable or a look of

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contempt and anger, the sight of which excites sorrow that any creature wearing the form of humanity should be fallen so low as to be subject to it. The squaws are never seen in this brutal condition; they crawl about with a load of light wood at their backs, or, having disposed of their venture, may be seen seated on their heels, telling their beads, or pulling their fingers through their thick black hair, that, if kept clean, would be beautiful, or in some other way tricking forth their charms to all advantage; for, though generally as ugly as sin, they are as full of coquetry as any *belle* of May-fair, and as vain of admiration; of the which, to say truth, they appear to come in for more than a share from our tars, two or three of whom may usually be seen lounging alongside the youngest of the native group, looking things they know not how to utter.

In this market of the Levee there is also an abundant display of fish, flesh, and fowl, with as varied a store of earth's fruits as any one place can produce. In the month of February we had here peas, lettuces, beans of several kinds, kale, celery, pine-apples, bananas, oranges, limes, 250 lemons, with sweet potatoes and edibles of various other kinds whose names were strange to me.

The beef here is, in appearance, inferior to that of the North, although fed on the finest pastures in nature,—those of the Ohio and Kentucky, but injured by the neglect and ill feeding consequent upon a voyage of ten or twelve hundred miles in a crowded steam-boat.

The creole mutton, I should say, is equal to the best in this country, being small-boned, sweet, and very fat. The great disadvantage the *artiste* labours under is the not being able to keep the meat long enough to become quite tender; such is this climate that decomposition follows quickly on death, and here the man is buried or the mutton eaten without waiting until either becomes cold.

The *Place d'Armes*, near this market, is a large square, having an area enclosed with rails in the centre: here the Indians usually congregate, and within this a curious-looking group

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or two may commonly be found. To see the tribe at toilet is not a little amusing: some hair-hunting, catching and cracking this game, with a keen sporting look and an obvious relish of the pursuit quite *varmint*; others mixing red or white paint 251 for the adornment of the nose, cheek, or eye, as custom or taste may decide.

I could not rightly discover whether these marks were simply directed by caprice, and assumed or laid aside at pleasure, or whether they were worn in compliance with some imperative custom, and having a translatable meaning, as some historians assert. Certain is it that I have noticed a little *Choctaw belle*, with whom I had established a sort of eye-flirtation of many days' standing; on one morning appealing to my taste by an insinuating streak of white lead over each of her bright eyes; on the next, giving my heart a stab from under a crimson half-moon; and on the third, killing me quite by a broadside from each chubby cheek, the right having at me with a ball of fiery red, the left exhibiting one of jet black.

The costume of these people, when divested of the eternal filthy blanket, is showy, and at times even becoming, and pleasing; bright colours, fringes, tags, beads, and feathers of the ostrich, parroquet, and eagle, constituted the raw material which the taste natural to the sex, and the love of finery inherent in the squaw, has to work upon.

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JOURNAL RESUMED.

Monday, March 16 th. —During the last three days the weather has been warm, but not oppressively so: last evening a light shower of rain was followed by a lovely night. I am leading a dissipated life here, and engaged for every day I can yet count upon—must prepare for flight from this Capua, but how? that's the question! since up the Mississippi I won't steam again, that's poz!

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Visited a noble packet called the Shakspeare, in which I feel hugely tempted to take passage, although by the route newly opened through Florida there is greater certainty, albeit with a good deal of hard work to calculate upon.

17 *th.* —St. Phaudrig's day. Engaged to dine with the sons of the saint. Rain falling in torrents, no stirring out; by the afternoon a deluge threatens us, the streets are turned to rivers, and our neighbour swamp is become a lake, above which the naked cypress-trees, hung with their sombre drapery of moss, tower like the masts of 253 some goodly navy whose hulls lie sunk beneath. Boats will soon be required, for every gutter is become a branch of mother Mississippi.

About three o'clock P. M. it subsided a little, and we were able to get through in a well-horsed carriage to the French Theatre, in the ball-room of which our rendezvous was appointed, dinner being laid in another of the suite of apartments appropriated to public purposes. We mustered about a hundred strong, and a more creditable set of children no saint ever had to his back. About midnight the party broke up, and, despite the rain, the shamrog had never presided over a gayer table.

18 *th.* —A glorious morning; paid my visits, made adieus; and after, rode out to the lake by the canal and *Bayou St. John*. But what a change had taken place since my last ride here, just three days back! then all was torpid, decayed, and dead; the forest was voiceless, and the waters oily and stagnant as though never intended for the use of living thing. On this day all nature appears awakened, as if by magic, and vegetation actually seems to proceed before our eyes; in every dyke the water-snakes are gliding about with their graceful crests reared above the surface, 254 and on lake and lagoon bask shoals of mullet, rejoicing in the warm waters of the swamp. The lazy alligator is dragging himself across the path, newly roused from his winter lair. The cardinal, the mocking-bird, and the gaudy red-bird, are all darting to and fro, in pursuit of the various insects that flutter about

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the air. The very swamp is putting on a face of beauty, and all nature appears to hail the arrival of spring. Never was change so complete, so sudden, and so attractive.

Returning, halted by a camp of Choctaws, consisting of a dozen huts, about which crawled or ran as many children of all ages, looking remarkably healthy and well-formed. In a hut, larger and better made than any other, sat the chief and his squaw, upon whose lap lay numberless strings of blue and white beads, which she was admiring and arranging with as much delight as a London girl would her first suite of pearl.

The chief himself was a stout, honest-faced fellow, and I suppose an active hunter, for the sides of the hut, which was open in front, were hung with various skins, and the earth was closely carpeted with the like trophies: several 255 clean-looking baskets were hanging about the back of the hut; over the fire, in front, was suspended an iron pot, and to attend to this seemed the present business of the chief.

This was a portion of a tribe or nation, once very powerful and numerous in the South; it is now, however, scattered and broken up; many families under their several chiefs have departed for the Western wilderness, many more for the tomb. They begged for money as the natives usually do, but receive with equal indifference the coin or a refusal.

Friday, 20th. —The ship Shakspeare, according to the owners' promise, was to sail this day, but sail she did not. Passed an uncomfortable morning from being kept the best part of it in uncertainty. Almost wish I had proceeded two days ago by the route through Florida. H—s gravely assures me it is all for the best, and J. H—n coolly echoes his philosophy, although both one and the other of the villains are “as hot Jacks” in their mood “as any in all Italy.” Day very sultry, or, as a countryman of mine here, calls this sort of muggy heat, “Vile mucilaginous weather.”

21st. —Again a delay, and a put-off till tomorrow; 256 three of our passengers now deserted, taking the steamer up the river for Louisville; was half tempted to follow their example, but don't like to cut my Shakspeare. I verily think, were the ship called by any

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other name, I would quit the mess. The bard was wrong when he made Juliet say “what's in a name?”

The city is hot and humid, as though it were washing-day above, and the sun's rays intercepted by wet blankets. In the evening, strong symptoms of a refreshing thunder burst: sat till after midnight *sans* coat or cravat, striving to keep cool; about that time the rain began to descend, and soon after up came a breeze, under whose influence I crept beneath my musquito curtain to fall sound asleep in five minutes.

Sunday. —Called up early. Shakspeare about to quit the Levee: find out that I have slept through a regular tornado, for to that complexion am I informed the night breeze came at last. Day clear, fresh, and pure, like a fine June morning at home; a difference of twenty-eight degrees between to-day and yesterday; got a hasty breakfast, and learned that the wind “sits in the shoulder of our sail,” or rather of our steam, since under such convoy do we seek the sea.

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At eight A. M. got on to the Levee, and found the Shakspeare already linked to her fiery mate; bade farewell to the many friends who have daily attended to add a last link to the chain of kind recollections in which they have bound my memory.

The market, close by which we lay, was, being Sunday morning, crowded by a chequered assemblage of European, Quadroon, Negro, and Indian, all gabbling, pushing, and purchasing in company. We unmoored in very capital style, though pretty closely jammed, for a ship of seven hundred tons, and in one minute after were whirled into the mid current of the Mississippi: the vast crescent of the water-front of the city showing through a curtain of thick masts, the hulls belonging to which floated level with the roofs of the highest houses: for the river, at this period, ran in its course far raised above the city.

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The wind blows hard, but a clearer or more bracing day heart could not desire; and, contrasted with the horrid yesterday, it is indeed most welcome.

We found some difficulty, owing to the violence of the breeze, in getting into that extraordinary bend called the "English turn;" but afterwards we rushed past the fine sugar plantations VOL. II. S 258 lying along our course with great velocity: we had a powerful steam-boat, and wind and current with us.

About sunset passed Fort Jackson, occupying a well-selected bend of the river, and commanding a long reach either way. This is one of the works projected and finished by French engineers, and is said to be of a first-rate description.

Shortly after passing this fort, a sight of unparalleled grandeur broke upon us. The western horizon was yet ruddy with the last light of sunset, and was attracting my attention, contrasted as it was with the dull stream and dismal jungle around us. Suddenly I observed a bright flame rush, as it were, over the distant surface of the swamp: at the same moment we opened a noble reach of the river, and a vast fire was perceived, steadily advancing over the prairie land on our left, which character of surface is continued from here to the Balize, covered by a rank growth of lofty cane or reeds.

As night drew on, the fire seemed to gather greater strength, rolling away to leeward a mighty ocean of flame; whilst nearer to us lines might be observed creeping close to the 259 earth, devouring the dry grass, and marching right in the teeth of the wind, sheltered by the tall cane next doomed to fall.

Whilst viewed far off, the effect was exactly that of a great city delivered to the flames: the trees growing by the river's brink, and scattered here and there over the prairie, showed like some yet standing spires, whilst here and there a tall cedar might be caught just falling; the dwarf trees and withered shrubs in front, with the flames quivering through

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their branches, might readily be imagined a remnant of the population fleeing from the destruction pressing on their rear, with the sullen Mississippi for their only refuge.

We overtook and sailed down, side by side, with this mighty conflagration for an hour or more, through water made bright by the fiery reflection: at last, we outstripped its speed, but, for three hours after, I never withdrew my eyes from this the grandest sight it ever was given to me to contemplate; nor was the effect at all diminished though changed by distance. At one turn of our course we were presented with a *coup d'œil* of fearful grandeur; it seemed as though the flame had crossed the broad S 2 260 river, and formed a half circle, whose left extremity was lost in distance, and whose right pursued our path, rolling after us a lofty wall of fire, from behind which burst wreaths of smoke, of different degrees of darkness, as though shot up from some volcano's crater, whilst the more distant masses formed gradually into clouds of snow, whose lower edges were tinged with mingled lines of gold and jet.

The wind blew half a gale at about N. N. W., and it was calculated that our pace could not be less than twelve miles per hour; that of the fire, therefore, must have been seven or eight, since, despite the turns of the river, we were closely followed by it for three hours, and very soon after we anchored at the Balize it again overtook us, rushing on unchecked whilst it found a supply of food, until extinguished in the waters of the gulf.

I had before seen the prairie on fire, that is, small districts of mere dry grass in a blaze; but, although striking from its novelty, it had none of the grandeur belonging to this wild conflagration. The fuel here offered to the flame was of an enduring quality, and continued to burn a fiery red after the first rush of flame had passed 261 over it and onward; and the next change it assumed was one of singular beauty: the reflection of the burnt cane, yet standing in perfect order as it grew, only made transparent by the action of fire, had the appearance of the harvest of an Eastern tale, composed of grain whose tall stalks were of burnished gold; whereas on the grass of the wide prairies the effect of the fire is lost as soon as passed, the bare and blackened soil alone being left behind.

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We arrived at the bar by 10 P.M. and let go an anchor for the night: the water reported by our pilot to be about eleven feet; a comfortable hearing, when it is considered that the Shakspeare draws fourteen.

There is now here, hard and fast, an English ship called the Coromandel, which has been on the bar for the last forty days. Several vessels intend pushing over, we understand, at the same time we do in the morning.

Monday , 23 rd. —On deck at six A.M. Our pilot, I find, declines crossing till the afternoon, when the tide will possibly, he says, be higher; the rise of water is, however, dependent upon the strength of the sea-breeze forcing the tide of the 262 gulf up against the current of the great river. No rise of the Mississippi above, however high, affects the bar here in the least perceptible degree.

Heaven send us well into blue water! for any place having a more desolate aspect than this sight never lighted on: not a sign of vegetation is visible, except the brown rank-growing reeds upon our right, where no fire has yet been. To the north, all is blackness on land, and dull and dead at sea: along the course of the water-line, logs of timber of every size, and trees of every kind, lie strewn, sometimes scattered singly, and in other places accumulated into enormous beds or rafts.

On every side is presented a dead level, muddy water, or land barely showing above it. One might have imagined, looking around here, that the great Deluge was but now subsiding, and this, the ruined world, left for the remnant of humanity, gathered here, to weep over. Silence and solitude reigned absolute, and the only evidence of our not being alone was to be found in the three or four ships scattered within sight.

As the morning advanced, each ship hoisted the colours of her nation: several schooners 263 came down near us, tugged along by a powerful steamer; the Mexican and Brazilian flags were amongst them.

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I find, too, that even this just redeemed soil is tenanted; here are eyes that find in it the charms of home. A couple of natives came alongside, with a boat-load of fine oysters; viewing them as samples, I should imagine the air not over salubrious at the Balize, for they were miserable-looking, blighted beings, "but half made up," and shook like aspen-leaves in the sharp air of morning.

About two P.M. the pet steamers of the bar, the Pilot and the Grampus, ran down to us, and made fast to the ship's sides: away we went for a dash at the pass, the object being to force a ship drawing nearly fifteen feet over a bar having upon its ridge just twelve feet.

We soon grounded, as was anticipated; when, after a couple of hours' tugging, we were left by our steamers, although one of their skippers had sworn stoutly in the morning that he never had quitted a ship on the bar, and never would. Three vessels that had got under weigh in company with the Shakspeare were set fast about a hundred yards farther over than ourselves, and 264 now lay right a-beam of the Coromandel drawing seventeen feet: when she will forge over is past all calculation; our own chance of a speedy move does not appear to me very bright.

All day set firm, a little movement perceptible at night: contemplate returning to New Orleans if a boat goes up to morrow.

Mem. —Never go by sea if in any haste, however tempting the prospect: just one week lost to-day, in addition to much vexation of spirit.

To complete the discomfort of our condition, the weather is raw and cold; clouds above, mud and misery below and about.

Tuesday, 24th. —Ship forging ahead slowly. At meridian the Spanish ship got away, and, in an hour after her, over slid the bark, leaving us gazing after them with longing eyes.

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About six P.M. the Shakspeare took a long slide, just clearing the bowsprit of the Coromandel. Breeze getting up from S. S. E. a little sea coming in. Our pilot, it seems, does not know when the tide is at its highest, but thinking we might slide over suddenly in the night, this efficient person now quitted us, taking to our larger neighbour, whose chance, I am sorry to say, 265 does not seem great of a hasty removal. She lies nearly on her beam-ends, with very little motion, thirteen feet water under her bowsprit end.

After amusing myself all day taking different bearings, and calculating each inch we made, got disgusted at last, and about midnight crept into bed, praying Heaven henceforward to be kept clear of all bars, from this of the Balize to the bar of the Old Bailey; although I do think, if I had a choice, I should prefer being arraigned for highway-robbery, or any other gentlemanlike felony, at the latter, to the being kept for a month weltering in mud upon the former.

Wednesday , 25 th. —Prospect a little brighter, a swell setting in from the eastward; the ship evidently working over, as we now have sixteen feet water within half our length ahead: day mild and clear, with a south-easterly breeze: all the passengers busy noting our snail-like progress: the poor Coromandel, which is fixed as a rock, affords us an excellent *land* -mark; we have slipped by her inch by inch. At three o'clock P. M. the ship's bow is all alive, the heel alone hangs on the ridge: a French brig is just taking the bar, and rapidly nears us. At four P.M., just as the Frenchman came abreast of us, 266 and her crew raised a cheer, the Shakspeare launched forward, as though just sent from the stocks; and, as all hands of us were on deck, with the poop and forecastle both well manned, we gave forth an involuntary hurrah, in which the crew of the Coromandel, who were all forward watching the result, heartily joined: the cheer of the dashing little Frenchman was in this way fairly drowned.

Our captain seems a smart hand; he had his sails trimmed, and the Shakspeare heading seaward, in less than no time: nor was it long before we reached the boundary line of the great river. At some six or seven miles from the bar a well-defined line is observable,

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stretching away north and south, with a regular curve outward. On all sides within this arch the water is thick and muddy, and immediately without this is the clear deep blue of the gulf; yet the influence of the current of the Mississippi is sensibly felt full seventy miles to the southward, its strength being found to set in that direction.

Our breeze freshened gradually all the evening, until by midnight it blew a rattler; but, thank Heaven, we are clear of the mud; no more lead-lines bandying about the decks.

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Friday , 27 th. —How time flies! and yet how same has been my existence since this day week,—five days of expectation, with but two of action; yet the fifty-secondth part of the year is away scarce marked! One is here actually compelled to turn back to the date of one's last *mem.* and look what day one has fallen on, so hard is it to keep note of time without occupation, or the remembrancers that surround us in our daily affairs on shore. I do not wonder at Crusoe notching his stick; the wonder is, that he should have been able to decide whether or no to-day was yesterday.

All is calm and fixed above, with a long easterly swell rolling under our foot, which does not seem likely to subside, although, as our captain informs me, unusual at this time of year. Large logs of blackened timber drift about, reminding us of the great river within whose influence we yet unhappily remain, although but twenty hours of fair wind would lead us round the Tortugas, within the influence of the gulf-stream. Employed all my morning shooting at bottles as empty as myself; this, with eating, drinking, and *ecarté* , forms the amusement and occupation of the day. I have heard of people who could read and write 268 on ship-board; but, for myself, protest I never could do either with the least possible satisfaction.

Last night the Connecticut steamer passed close by us, bound for Havannah; I could not help wishing she had been compelled to give Billy Shakspeare a pull.

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Whilst at whist in the night, a passenger was reported dead of cholera. "Well," said our chief, "if he's dead, we must bury him, that's all." It was an old man, whose only daughter, with her husband and child, were on board; and the report is, that he has been grossly neglected by this pair, having been very well when received.

Saturday , 28 th. —Seven A.M.; went upon deck, and was delighted to find stunsails on both sides, a clear blue sky above, reflected on a sea of the same colour, only crested with wreaths of snowy whiteness: wind about west by north. What an instantaneous elasticity does the spirit gather up from a change like this! I had quitted my room despondingly, having slept sound and hearing no indications of a breeze; the dull heavy creak of the bulk-heads alone spoke of motion; when, on gaining the poop-deck, a fair, free breeze, 269 and an atmosphere filled with life and vigour, awaited to be hailed.

Our dead passenger was uppermost in my mind, and I made inquiry of the officer of the watch respecting the hour appointed for committing the corpse to the sea, until that time when Judgment might claim its own from the deep caves of ocean. I found, however, that the old man was in no way prepared to avail himself of this day's sunshine for his dark journey, being, on the contrary, alive if not merry.

It appears that, whilst busied about the last offices offered by the living to the dead, signs of life had been discovered by his attendants, and the expiring flame gently reinvigorated by judicious friction and brandy and water, the old man's ancient bane, and now his antidote. I hastened to see this dead-alive, and found him perfectly conscious of his restoration to "this breathing world;" but I imagine the respite can only be for a very limited period. Captain Collins had the jolly-boat fitted up for him on the main-deck, and, when placed in it on a clean comfortable bed, his pulse was barely perceptible; his eye was glazed and dim, and his frame emaciated to a degree that was painful 270 to contemplate. The daughter is a fair-haired devil of two-and-twenty, tall and hearty, but exhibits a callous

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want of feeling and a disregard of opinion, seldom met with in the most ruffianly of our sex, and truly shocking in a woman.

The father, I learn, is from the state of New Jersey, where he possesses a good farm, and flocks and herds, to which this Goneril will succeed on his demise; hence it is that she looks upon his nurses with no love or gratitude. The poor old man, in hopes of augmenting her store, had quitted his pleasant possessions in Jersey, to seek wealth amongst the swamps of the Mississippi. How long, I wonder, will the fluttering soul, evidently plumed and eager for its flight, be held within the frail, worn-out prison-house? Its flight!—but whither and to what? “Ay, there's the rub!” the riddle, which this poor wretch will probably solve before the wisest living philosopher could build a single conjecture towards it.

Last night it appears the calf got loose in the stall, and joyfully helped itself to the food supplied by nature to the mother for its sustenance; in consequence, we, for this morning, are minus 271 milk for breakfast. With a decision prompt and unanimous, this act was voted a robbery, the calf a felon, and the award death without delay. No counsel was called for the hungry youngster, nor a voice heard in Nature's behalf; the absence of the customary supply of milk was considered evidence conclusive and damnatory; the hearts of judge and jurors were superseded by their appetites, and doubtless the criminal calf must die the death.

All day our fine wind follows us; the sun is hot; we have an awning spread over the whole of the noble poop-deck, and within its shade we lounge or lie about in the most perfect luxury of idleness, whilst the Shakspeare majestically moves forward on her course, with just motion enough to be pleasant.

Sunday , 29 th. —This morning we found our table abundantly supplied with milk; which, together with a burnt-offering of the inconsiderate calf's liver, bore undoubted evidence of the steward's prompt execution of the court's decree. Thinking it a pity such an example of strict justice should be lost to the world, I have, as far as this record goes, done my

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utmost to preserve it. Wind still abaft the beam, blowing 272 a steady, constant sort of blow; sun cheerful, and sea all alive. About meridian a shore-bird, rather like a woodcock, but considerably larger, came fluttering round the ship, evidently wearied by long flight, yet fearing to confide in our hospitality; and not without reason, faith! for one of our passengers gave me notice of the stranger, and gravely requested me to shoot it. I said nothing; but the ship and cargo could not have bribed me to raise a barrel against that timid, storm-worn, home-sick bird: no, if he would trust in me, he should have rest and food, and so fly back to his lone mistress rejoicing.

Our old man breathes still, but shows little disposition to make an effectual rally against the foe: for the rest, crew and passengers, all are well. A number of Irish lads occupy the between-decks: they have a fiddle amongst them, and “welt the flure” on the forecastle, every night, with a perseverance that is most amusing.

Thursday, April 2nd. —Since the 28th ult., light west and south-westerly winds, with warm balmy days. This morning we lost one of our crew overboard, an exceedingly pretty parroquet I had purchased at New Orleans: it was an amusing, active little creature, and on several 273 occasions had crept through the bars of its cage, and sliely gone up the rigging, whence it had, after a time, descended of itself, or had been brought down by one of the boys: but frequent peril incurred with impunity breeds presumption, and towering ambition knows no safe halting-place; so my poor, pretty Poll, on each new climb, gained a more giddy and more dangerous elevation, until on this day, attracted by her usual scream of exultation, I cast my eyes upwards in search of her, and quickly made her out, strutting to the weather-end of the royal yard-arm, the loftiest perch in the ship.

I augured ill of the attempt, and was watching her movements, when, either impelled by an innate love of liberty, or lured by some fragrant odour borne on the air from the distant woods of Florida, she made a bold flight in the direction of the land, and fell into the sea a little distance a-head of the ship.

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Poll was a favourite, and Captain Collins a kind-hearted man: the Shakspeare was brought by the wind, and various efforts made to near the silly bird; but all in vain: we went rapidly past her, and left her to the fate her presumption had courted. The efforts the little creature VOL. II. T 274 made to approach the vessel were incessant, and almost painful to regard: from the instant she touched the waves, her head was kept to the ship, which she strove to regain by flapping along the surface with her maimed short-clipped pinions. I felt that I could have saved her; and only for shame, and the great trouble it would have necessarily caused, I should assuredly have slipped over the side after the miserable little fool.

Our fair wind sticks to us, and the gulf-stream is calculated to be from three to three miles and a half in our favour; so that we are making short work of it. All alive and well.

Tuesday , 7 th. —We last night got inside the Hook, but were blown, off, not being able to get a pilot. We are now thrashing at it with a bitter head-wind. A great number of ships of all kinds are beating through the bay, as well as numbers coming out with it all their own way. The Shakspeare proves worthy the name, as she weathers and goes a-head of every craft beating with us. A very smart ship, called the “Washington Irvine,” held our Billy a stout tug, but, after reading the name as she went about a-head of us for many turns, we at last crawled to windward, 275 and Shakspeare took the lead, as even the “Washington Irvine” must admit was perfectly proper.

At the quarantine station we landed our sick passenger, and were permitted to proceed. By four P.M. I once more set my foot on the dock-side of New York, after an absence of five months, and felt as though I had again reached home.

Let me here remark, that during these five months I had travelled through the roughest part of these States in every sort of conveyance, and had been thrown amongst all classes of the community, yet never received one rude word or encountered an inconvenience, save those inseparable from the condition of the roads. Even the Southern mail, the discomforts of which I have painted exactly as I experienced them, I must in fairness admit

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is well managed, when the difficulties to be encountered at the season of my journey are justly taken into consideration. Their object is to get on; this, as long as possible, at any risk, they are bound to do. It will be seen that, when a coach cannot be dragged through, they nail a few boards on the axle, and proceed with this lighter and less ticklish vehicle: it is true the passengers suffer T 2 276 much; but only those exceedingly desirous to proceed travel at such times, and without such a resort the machinery must stand still.

Out of our party two stout men gave in at different stages; and another, when I quitted America, had not recovered from the effects of exposure to wet, loss of rest, and fatigue.

The journey ought not, in my mind, to be undertaken by any man who regards his ease, after the month of November or before the month of May. A new route is, however, already in use by coach and steam-boat across Florida: a railroad is also in contemplation by the same line, which, connected with the present ready means of gaining Charleston, will probably, in a season or so, make the communication with Mobile and New Orleans a trip of little inconvenience.

Still I consider that a near view of the border parts of Georgia and Alabama, together with a sail down the noble river of that name, watering, as it does, the richest lands in the world, and destined, as it evidently is, to sustain a vast population on its banks, ought not to be neglected by any man whose motives for travel have any higher aim than mere amusement. For myself, I would not have missed the contemplation 277 of this truly elementary society, and the absolute novelty it presents, for thrice the inconveniences it was my fortune, during an uncommon series of bad weather, to encounter.

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NEW YORK.

I passed the next two months between this city and Philadelphia, taking leave of the audience of the latter city on Saturday, May the 9th, attended by demonstrations of the kindest and most flattering regard. The next week I idled between Princeton and New

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York. The Artists' Exhibition was at this time open here, and it afforded me genuine pleasure to see many pictures that were good, and numbers of early attempts of a highly promising character.

I also visited an exhibition of pictures which had been proffered to Congress at the sum of forty thousand dollars, in order that this collection might form the foundation of a great national gallery; a worthy object, and of which these pictures would have formed a right-becoming commencement.

Here were specimens, and worthy ones, of many masters; amongst others a Murillo, indisputably 279 genuine, and, although a little faded in colour, still worth a wilderness of most other productions. The subject was a painful one too, being the agony of Christ on the Mount of Olives.

Never, surely, was the utter prostration of flesh and soul so speakingly made out; bitter indeed must the cup have been so painfully contemplated by one so meek, so patient of suffering; Omniscience only, being so entreated, could yet have held it to the sufferer's pallid lips, or contemplated with a fixed purpose the sorrowing eyes imploringly cast upwards.

Before the kneeling Christ,—the worn and wasted man,—there floated an angel worthy of the dying Psalmist's imagining, so unearthly, so ethereal! What a full heart must the inspired painter have had as in his mind's eye he purely shadowed forth this most perfect conception of one of those who hold companionship with God! It was made up of all the rarest traits of beauty, yet its loveliness was not of the world: the veriest dullard looking on it would have paused in admiration; the most brutal have gazed into those pure eyes, untainted by one earthly feeling, one sinful thought, or impure desire. On my mind the effect was thrilling: 280 I have pictured to myself angels as poets have described them, and have often before looked upon them such as they have been conceived by Angelo, Correggio, and other master-spirits amongst men, and have seen faces of theirs on which

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I could have looked unsatiated again and again, and forms I could have loved with all my heart; but never beheld an emanation of the Spirit of God, a thing only to be gazed on holily and worshipped humbly, until I met with this angel of Murillo's.

Were I Pope, the painter should be canonized as one visibly inspired from heaven, and on whose visions angels must have waited, since earth never could have supplied from its fairest a model for such expression as he has here given to the comforter of that heart-broken Christ. It is worth living virtuously, to die in the hope of such companionship hereafter, and for all eternity. After having been for two years deprived of the pleasure an enthusiast derives from the painter's art, the mere contemplation of such a picture elevates and refines one's spirit; the world and worldly feelings are forgot, and for a moment the soul breathes freely within its earthly prison.

Here were three pictures of Sir Joshua Reynolds; 281 one a group of the Clive family, including the native Ayah holding a little girl on a chair. This Indian nurse is painted to the life, graceful, animated, and devoted; only for the difference of complexion, one might imagine the delicate girl she looks on with such tender pride her own, and not the offspring of the cold white woman whose eyes are fixed on you as she stands *vis-à-vis* to her stiff lord, who is dressed in a rappee-coloured habit richly overlaid with gold.

This picture might very well be described as a fancy subject, and designated Nature and Art. Opposite this fine picture of our English master hung another group, by Rembrandt; making up in force and colour what it lacked in delicacy and refinement. The subject was the De Witt family; and each portrait wore that genuine stamp of truth that left no question of their resemblance to the Dutch originals.

There were some sea-pieces by Backhuysen, and one by Vanderveldt; several excellent landscapes; a couple of gallery pictures worthy a place in the Pitti, together with Danby's Opening of the Sixth Seal. All together, in fact, this was a collection of no mean pretensions, which would have been an exceedingly creditable foundation on

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282 which to have raised a national gallery. The sum which it was required Congress should appropriate to the purchase was forty thousand dollars; and considering how that assembly is constituted, how little most of its members know or care about pictures, or of their intrinsic value, and how utterly unimbued they are with any conception of the moral worth of art to a young nation, I conceive it very creditable to the body that the motion was negatived by only two votes.

How could a member from Illinois or Mississippi have justified such an item in the budget to his constituents? I can fancy a group of good Jackson men, after reading of an appropriation of forty thousand dollars for the purchase of twenty pictures, raising their admiring eyes to a portrait of the General swinging from the signpost, for the painting of which, with a horse's head into the bargain, the tavern-keeper, Major Jones, had paid no cent more than fifteen dollars; and then coming back on the corrupt motives which could induce a vote of a couple of thousand a-piece for pictures "that could not by any natural means be liker nature, or more handsomely done, nohow, by any foreigner that ever fisted a paint-brush."

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The attempting Congress was, in truth, a mistake; but I cannot help thinking that, had a subscription been opened in either of the great Northern cities, or in New Orleans, for the purpose of founding a State collection, a much greater sum might have been readily raised; since there are in each of these cities numbers of wealthy individuals having the good taste to rightly appreciate the value of such an Institution, and public spirit enough to have effected the object, had it once received the impetus. As it is, I could not help regretting that the opportunity was lost, the pictures being advertised for sale without reserve, the auction to take place in a few days.

On the 19th we had a grand military ceremony and procession, to receive and escort to the Battery the remains of General Leavensworth, a brave and very popular officer, who died in consequence of the fatigue and privations incurred on the late prairie expedition

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amongst the tribes of the Missouri. His remains were brought hither by way of the Lakes on the route to the place of sepulture.

The volunteer corps were all turned out on this occasion, each remarkable for the neatness 284 of its dress and completeness of appointment. The members of these corps also had a trim and dainty air well becoming men playing at soldiers,—a game, by the way, no full-grown biped who regards his personal dignity ought ever to play after arriving at the years of discretion: for youths it is a cheerful and becoming amusement enough; but for fat, full-blown gentlemen! Nothing can be conceived more whimsical than the uncomfortable air of ease it is necessary to assume on the occasion; particularly for such as are promoted to the ticklish degree of field-officers; each of whom is most unconscionably expected at one and the same instant to retain possession of a hard-mouthed horse, a pair or two of reins, a sword, a plumed *chapeau*, and his seat into the bargain, having only the ordinary allowance of hands to help himself withal. It is all very amusing for the bystanders to laugh at the cruel scrape their friends are in when so bedeviled in a crowded street on a hot day; but let those who conceive the matter so easy, only get appointed to the dangerous eminence, and try how they like it.

Good-humour and cool temper are also indispensable requisites in a commander of volunteer 285 cavalry here; for on this occasion I beheld two or three impatient carmen and restive jarveys very coolly charge upon the flank of the advance of cavalry whilst the troop was filing across the street out of the park, and persist in forcing the line, *malgré* the civil remonstrance of the combined staff, who nevertheless yielded with the best possible humour.

Now in England I have invariably noted that your chaw-bacon, when once he buckles harness on, and has “the blast of war blown in his ears,” becomes a very Tartar in his bearing, and is much less conciliating towards his fellow snobs than is your regular soldier, whose trade is war. With us, your yeomen whenever they have a chance, I have observed, most uncivilly poke about the lieges with but and bayonet, or thump and rump them with

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their chargers, and entice the ill-broken brutes with insidious prods of the spur to swish their tails, if tails they have, into the upturned phizes of their awe-stricken fellows.

Here, on the contrary, your volunteers “do their spiriting gently:” all is good-nature and good manners; and a front is diminished, or a column of companies in line of march is eased 286 off to the right or left to make way for carts or coaches, as the case requires, with a promptness which is the more creditable from the fact that the execution of a change in movement is no light matter.

The persons who appeared least to enjoy the *éclat* of this military *fête* were the officers of the regular United States' army. They were readily distinguished by their upright, soldier-like air, together with a certain cold, half-proud expression, as though they discovered no fun in the thing, and moreover were insensible to the honour of the companionship they were admitted to. Added to the above characteristics which struck me, I perceived that not one of these gentlemen had so much as unsheathed his sword, or seemed aware of having such an appendage by his side; whereas, of the gallant volunteers, there was not a man, from the surgeon to the colonel, but had his iron out brightly flashing back the sunbeams, although to some of the mounted officers this must have been a matter of additional inconvenience, not to say considerable peril.

During the course of the procession a salute was fired from the battery by the mounted artillery 287 corps; the bands played, and the bells of the different churches on the line of march tolled for the dead.

On the whole, this little affair was very well conceived, and better managed, than it would have been by any other citizen troops, excepting, perhaps, the French, who appear to adopt the air and habit of soldiers more perfectly than any other *bourgeoisie* whatever.

On Friday, May 28th, I acted for the last time in the States, and so ended at the Park, where I began, and as I began, to a crowded audience. But the merry faces assembled here were no longer unknown to me; I was on my *debût*, a stranger amongst strangers:

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I now felt myself surrounded by personal friends, and by an audience which had frankly welcomed me; which had continued to cherish my efforts by increasing kindness and consideration, and which had now thronged here less perhaps to witness a performance so often repeated, than to take leave of an individual with whom the persons composing it had cultivated a close acquaintanceship, and for whose talent they had encouraged a preference.

I am not of those who look upon the bond linking audience and actor as a mercenary contract, for the hours during which the latter yields his quantum of strength and spirit to the former for so much coin, and there is an end. Were I, unhappily, possessed by such a morbid feeling, I could no longer act, the spell would be broken. It is true, I might constrain bone and sinew to administer to my necessities, and continue to barter these with the public for bread; but the inspiring spirit would be away, sunk past recall. Severed from the sympathies of those it wrought for, it would cease to lighten upon the scene, which the power of enlisting those sympathies alone redeems from contempt.

But it is not so, as every well-constituted mind will avouch. Preference, and a constant expression of favour from his auditory, necessarily beget a kind feeling in return: the actor is aware also that he is not always in a condition to fulfil his part of the bond; illness, low spirits, crosses, losses, or any of "the thousand ills that flesh is heir to," rob the mind of its elasticity, and the body of its power; yet rarely does the disappointed auditor turn on the favourite and act the clamorous creditor.

Even in very extreme cases, what a spirit of forbearance have we seen exhibited, what positive sympathy have we felt extended in our own time to cherished players! It is at such moments that, more exposed, as he is, to immediate censure, and more helpless than any other of the servants of the public, he also feels himself more especially, more kindly considered, and, if possessed of a kindly heart, cannot fail to be touched by the feeling.

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After illness or prolonged absence too, it is in the electric burst of welcome, the enthusiastically prolonged cheer of gratulation, and in the genuine pleasure sparkling from hundreds of uplifted ardent eyes, that the man who devotes himself to win the player's meed receives his brief, his shadowy it may be, but his inspiring triumph, accompanied by the assurance that he is closely linked with the kindest feelings of those who for the scene are subject to his thrall.

And when at length the hour of farewell comes, it is in the anxious pause, the breathless attention, yet more impressive than all other species of homage, that "the poor player," about to be "heard no more," reads the assurance that on the many young fresh hearts now subject to his art he has indelibly engraven VOL. II. U 290 his name, often to be pleasantly recalled in after hours, perhaps of pain and worldly care.

It is in the hope of gaining this living record he seeks consolation for the absence of all other less perishable fame: expecting, hoping nothing from posterity, he has a stronger claim upon the kindness of his contemporaries, for whom alone he lives, and the feeling is reciprocal: hence it is that these repay him with a superabundance of present regard, to soften to him the consciousness of the oblivion to which his memory is inevitably consigned, however great his genius, and however ardent its longings "after immortality."

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OF A VISIT TO QUEBEC, VIA LAKE CHAMPLAN AND MONTREAL.

Saturday, May 30 th. — Went on board the De Witt Clinton steam-boat about six P.M. and in the brightest possible night sailed up the most beautiful of rivers. We were not crowded; my excellent friend C—e was in company, on his way to take unto him a wife, and consequently the trip was to me unusually agreeable. We kept pacing the deck until

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we had passed through the deep shadows of the highlands, and floated over the silvery expanse of Newburg Bay.

Sunday , 31 *st.* —Before six A. M. we were set ashore at Albany. Breakfasted at the Eagle, and at nine A.M. left for Saratoga by the rail-road; thence by stage to Whitehall. The day was fine, the roads rough enough to be sure. To the north lay the mountain State of Vermont, U 2 292 and to the south a ridge of bold well-wooded heights. At Glenfalls we passed the Hudson by a wooden bridge thrown over the very foot of the cataract: luckily, whilst in the act of crossing, a trace came unhitched, and we pulled up to order matters, just at the centre of the misty abyss. Thus were we afforded ample leisure to look on the wild fall, which, when in the wilderness, must have been a glorious scene; for, disfigured as it now is by a mill or two of the ordinary kind, it is still magnificent.

Our ride from this place to Whitehall reminded me much of some part of North Wales: the enclosures are small, irregularly shaped, and surrounded by walls of stone; many rills of clear water are crossed, making their way to the Hudson through rough courses bestrewn with fragments of rock: close on the left the river is itself visible every now and then, whilst in the distance rise a confused heap of wild mountains.

Numerous comely-looking pigs, together with groups of round-faced fat children, barefooted and bareheaded, complete the resemblance.

For the last seven miles the road was of the roughest kind; but our coachman rattled along merrily, getting us to Whitehall by ten P. M.

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Monday, June 1 st. —At about one we quitted the comfortable inn here, and the busy little town of Whitehall; and in the fine steamer Phoenix thridded our way out of the swampy harbour formed by the head-waters of the lake.

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The hills about us rose boldly, and were covered with a variety of trees now clothed in their freshest leaves, therefore beautiful to look on. For many miles the channel continues narrow, at times confined by a Steep wall of marble surmounted by rich flowering shrubs; then, for a short distance, laving the edge of some rich meadow slope. At last, the lake expanded gloriously, reminding me, at a first glimpse, of the Trossachs, save that here was less grandeur and deep shadow, the outlines of the mountains were softer and the valleys more fertile.

The green mountains of the State of Vermont now bounded the lake upon the north, and on the south rose the Giant-mountains of the State of New York. These were for ever changing in form, as we crossed and re-crossed the lake in order to land or receive passengers from stated points. This circumstance also brought us acquainted with several very lovely locations. Beneath the old fort of Ticonderago we halted for 294 a few minutes; and at Crown-point our stay was long enough to allow a rough sketch to be taken of the roofless barracks and the ruined works.

In the course of our progress we ran into two or three of the sweetest bays imaginable, where the calm lake was shadowed by steep mountains, down whose sides leaped little tributary streams that rushed sparkling and foaming into its turbid bosom.

It is most certain that, had these beauties been given to England or to Scotland, they would each and all have been berhymed and bepainted until every point of real or imaginable loveliness had been exhausted: for myself, I have looked on many lakes, and by none have been more delightfully beguiled than by a contemplation of this during some nine hours of sunshine, sunset, and twilight, the last alone too brief. Atmosphere, I am aware, does much; and this was one of those lovely days whose influence expands the heart and takes the reason prisoner.

After quitting Burlington, where we encountered the returning steam-boat, and received a large accession of force, I retired to my berth, and enjoyed the soundest possible sleep.

Tuesday, 2 *nd*. —On deck at six A.M.: found the lake had assumed a river-like appearance; the channel narrow, the banks low and swampy. The day, too, was as much changed as the scene from yesterday, for a drizzling rain was falling, and the clouds looked heavy and threatening.

As we neared St. John's, we had a slight custom-house visitation; and, soon after landing, were served with an excellent breakfast; after which came the bustle of departure. A string of carriages, of the same build used throughout the States, occupied half the little street, all loading heavily with baggage and bipeds, till by nine we got in motion, forming quite a caravan.

The road lay for a time along the bank of the new canal destined to unite the head-waters of the lake with the St. Lawrence, and was a pleasant succession of ditch and bog-hole. It got better after a few miles' jolting, but was nowhere tolerable, or creditable to his Majesty's dominions.

On entering La Prairie, at noon, we found the good people annoyed by a visitation which had not yet reached St. John's, namely, myriads of a winged insect called the shad-fly; these covered and crowded every building, filled the water and the air; they lodged on your clothes, rendered sight difficult, and speaking impracticable, except with closed teeth. Luckily, these flies neither sting nor bite; so that, setting aside their appearance, and a certain tickling they inflict upon the neck and face, they are easily borne with. At half-past one P.M. the steamer *Britannia* quitted the port of La Prairie to cross the wide St. Lawrence, to where our Land of Promise, Montreal, lay glittering in sunshine some nine miles distant.

Half an hour landed us, and I received the pleasure of a grip of welcome from my old friend W—w, who, with two or three of his brother-officers, was on the look-out for

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me. Leaving my baggage to the care of Sam, I stepped into the boat, and at once accompanied W—w to St. Helen's, lying about half a mile from the main land.

In ten minutes more we were treading the verdant sod of the island, when my first movement was to walk round it. I found it to possess every variety of country in perfect miniature proportions: here were wood-crowned steeps, shady glades, and open meadows, all offered 297 in as many changes as might well be managed on so small a surface. Viewed from this, the city too looked very attractive, scattered over the southern side of the great mountain.

This little island was the latest possession of the French in Canada. Above a fort now in ruins was last elevated the white standard, which at one time fluttered from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi: thus girdling, as it were, the British colonies, France one day looked to sweep into the Atlantic.

Upon the westernmost point of the island, the tree still stands fresh and vigorous beneath which the articles for the final cession of the Canadas were agreed upon, and the last portion of the vast empire contemplated for France by the genius of Richelieu for ever abandoned.

The present garrison is composed of a company of the Royal Artillery. Here is an extensive dépôt for stores, an armoury, two great magazines containing not less than six thousand barrels of gunpowder and all the other munitions of war.

In the afternoon I re-crossed the channel and surveyed Montreal, which has an air completely French. The streets are irregular, narrow, ill-paved, 298 and moreover rejoice universally in a fishy savour in no way detracting from their Gallic characteristics.

Here is a large building in progress, or at least standing in an unfinished state, called the Cathedral, but, saving the size, putting forth externally small claim to notice; whilst the interior might serve as a model of ill-taste, both as to arrangement and colour, for the

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especial enlightenment of all future building committees. The convents appear well built; and many of the private dwellings are large, and of a goodly aspect.

Thursday , 4 th. —Having fully made up my mind on this day to ride over the race-course, visit the Rapids of *La Chine* , and make a complete circuit of the mountain, I was resolute, my time being meted, to carry out my plan despite a thunderstorm of the most violent kind, which began as we were setting forth and continued all day, with one or two short intervals of sunshine.

I found in the beauty of the country as seen from the Rapids, and from the different points of the mountain, ample compensation: what my complaisant companions felt I am not 299 so sure of. We of a certainty returned in the afternoon three of the most thoroughly soaked and dirtiest gentlemen within the wide range of his Majesty's dominions. On the whole, it was agreed that, having to choose between a ducking or a dusting, we were better off served up soused in rain and only parboiled, than we should have been smothered in dust and wholly roasted.

Dined at the hospitable mess of the 32nd, and quitted it late for St. Helen's.

The lightning was frequent and very vivid during our row across the rapid; and it was a curious speculation to narrowly watch an occasional flash descending the tall conducting rods, and gambol along the roof of the great magazine, as though prying for a sly crevice by which to enter. It afforded a subject for consideration to calculate the next possible resting-place of our little isle, should the ignition of six thousand barrels of gunpowder treat us with an ascension by moonlight.

The soldiers' wives were in great alarm, poor souls! and some of the chubby regimental urchins, destined to live on gunpowder, were now crying their eyes out for very fear, as they 300 clung to their mothers' petticoats, where they gathered in little knots to watch the fantastic course of the wild fluid.

Fatigue had prepared me for sleep, and my rest was undisturbed, excepting that I conceived the sentry's quarterly cry of "All's well!" sounded louder than usual, or that I heard it oftener than was my wont, as it rose distinctly above the fitful roar of the storm.

Friday, 5 th. —All is perfectly calm, and gladness and increase of beauty are spread over the newly-renovated field and forest. "What a delicious spot is this same St. Helen's!"

Such, involuntarily, was my exclamation as I this morning thrust aside the jalousies from my open window, and felt the pure air rush within my little chamber, and saw the sunbeams dancing down the passing rapid, and flashing from the bright roofs and spires of the more distant city. One might have fancied the tales of El Dorado realized, and that the precious metals were here devoted to cover the humblest dwellings.

I should like greatly to have a history of this sweet spot since the first bold savage braved in his canoe the perilous rapid, and found security beneath the shadow of these spreading trees.

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In the winter, by the way, the passage is simple enough,—a natural high road of ice unites it to Montreal; and last season, my friends inform me, they drove their light *carioles* over a finer way than Mac Adam ever dreamed of, for full thirteen weeks.

Independent of the garrison, the population of St. Helen's is limited to three or four families in the civil employ of the government, together with the holder of a fine farm, a scion of the Green Isle, who bears the unquestionable name of Mister Dolan; a man of little labour but much Latin, whose humanities are at his finger-ends whilst his toes are out of his brogues.

In right of a small rental paid to government, this worthy carefully superintends the dilapidations performing by time and the climate upon the neat cottage, and a couple of rustic pavilions erected by the taste of Lady Dalhousie whilst her lord commanded here, together with an inclosed garden, which would, if decently cultivated, supply Montreal with

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fruit and vegetables, all of which, under the inspection of my friend Mister Dolan, is fast retrograding into its primitive condition.

I this morning, at eleven, met my company at 302 the theatre, a very neat one; and, what with those already mustered, together with a windfall just landed from Waterford, in the shape of a pretty woman and her husband, in search of an engagement, I fancy my friend B—y and I may manage to get up one night's fun for Montreal, though, for my own part, I would rather idle than play.

Same night acted a couple of interludes to a full house, and an exceedingly merry-humoured one; although the only really good thing was the orchestra, composed of the excellent band of the 32nd regiment, which had been kindly placed by the commanding officer at the disposal of “the Lessee.”

At a late hour took to the skiff for our quiet retreat, which rose, in this time of moonlight, above the shining waters like some fairy garden resting on a bed of mother-of-pearl. We sung Moore's Boat-song, and not a sound except the appropriate soft splash of the oars came between us and the echo that faintly repeated our chorus.

The echo from the island, by the way, is very distinct, and oft repeated; and, on such a night as this, to stand beside the nine-o'clock gun, listening to its bellow as it reverberates amongst 303 the opposite heights, is one of the things of these parts worth doing.

Saturday , 6 th. —Again, what sunshine! and how invigorating is the wind, now breathing sweet music through the trees as their thick leaves rustle above the swift river!

Two or three large rafts are in sight, their hardy crews straining on the huge oars as they cross the rapids for the city. At measured intervals their wild cry fills the air; whilst the notes of our island bugles, together with the drums of the city, reply merrily and boldly, as though flinging back the challenge of some approaching horde of savage invaders.

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And verily no beings can look more wild of aspect or attire than the crews working the huge rafts which navigate these waters. Europeans, Indians, and *Bois-brules*, as the half-breed is denominated, are all found in this employ, but so much alike in equipment and complexion, that, only for the round Saxon face, light hair, and blue eyes, here and there distinguishable, it would be difficult to conceive them of different lineage.

A pair of loose trousers of coloured serge or flannel, a sash of scarlet worsted or wampum girt about the loins over a shirt of indescribable hue, moccassins on the feet, and a red cap or bonnet of fox-skin, or not unfrequently a shock of hair that despises any covering, and alike defies the force of sun and storm, forms the common costume of these sons of toil, whose lives, commonly of short duration, are wasted in quick alternations of perilous labour and wild debauch.

Their rough mates, the boatmen of old Mississippi and the lakes, have nearly disappeared; and how much longer steam and railway will yet leave this calling open to the Tartar-spirits of the North, it is impossible to say. At present they are evidently in full employ, for there is hardly a reach of the rivers flowing about the isles of Montreal but is, at some time or other through-out the day, laden by these cumbrous rafts, often measuring one hundred feet in length by ten in width.

These masses are rafted from vast distances; and, during their course of perhaps fifty days, their crews look for no covering: the rain descends upon them, and the waves of the rapids rise over them, but they abide both without shade or shelter; subsisting principally upon pork, dressed or raw, as may be, and having for their beverage the stream whereon they may chance to float, except during an occasional halt at some stated point where whisky invites them to hold a deep but brief carouse.

At ten A. M. crossed to the city according to appointment, to meet three friends in whose good company I was to visit

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The Sault au Recollect.

I procured the stout charger whose quality of endurance I had well tested on a former occasion. True to our time, we took the road, such as it was, and, after an hour's hard riding, reached the river at the point where several fine mills and a fishery bring constant grist to the worthy monks of St. Sulpice, who are here the lords paramount of soil and stream.

The fishermen appeared divided into two watches or squads, one of which was actively casting for the shad, the other more pleasantly employed in cooking them.

We took our stand upon a green point elevated a few feet above the river it projected into; in front ran the Sault, or leap, raging like the ocean when lashed by a gale, and churning amongst reefs of rock. Opposite to us, at a distance VOL. II. X 306 of some half mile, stood a couple of very spacious stone-built mills, their lofty substantial walls pierced by numerous narrow windows, and surmounted by steep red roofs, high over which waved a grove of noble trees: this was *l'île Jésus*, and the stand whence we surveyed this scene the Isle of Montreal.

Whichever way we cast our eyes, up or down the stream, its course was vexed and its mood chafed more or less; but before, and close upon our right, was the wildest turmoil; and over an eddy of this, from off temporary platforms of planks, the fishermen flung down the stream their round landing-nets, as far as the eighteen-foot pole to which these were affixed would permit, then painfully dragged them back against the current, sometimes laden with fine shad, but oftener coming home empty, to be again leisurely cast back.

The sameness of this movement, the softness of the turf, and the difficulty attending conversation, had gradually lulled our little party into a pleasant reverie; when, on a sudden, we were startled by faint cheers borne on the downward breeze: we all sprang

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upon our feet in an instant, and, looking upwards, caught sight of a 307 monstrous bed of timber bounding towards the Sault.

This was the very chance we had desired and were waiting for, and intensely was my sight directed towards it. On the very centre of the raft a tall pole was elevated, surmounted by a fanciful flag; at its foot the Pilot, or *Conducteur*, was stationed, motioning the course suggested by his glance at the state of the fall, towards which the mass was hurried with a rapidity each instant seemed to accelerate; and, in obedience to his directions, the active *rameurs* were seen tugging at the oars, and straining each sinew to the uttermost.

Involuntarily we approached the very edge of our stand, to watch as closely as possible the first plunge of that great raft down into the boiling breakers, from whose abyss a crew of Titans could not now have turned it. Quickly it neared the awful leap; at a signal from the watchful pilot, the foremost half of the crew abandoned their useless oars; and, running nimbly along the timber, rallied in a group about their standard, waving their caps, and braving the wild roar of the water with as wild a cheer. Suddenly the fluttering pennon drooped X 2 308 against the mast, then rose erect above it; the loud hurrah was lost, and headlong down they sank.

The heavy mass, loosely bound together, now writhed and bent about like a net of twine cast upon an angry brook, whilst the concussion produced by the clashing timbers sounded like a discharge from a battery. I drew short breath as I looked upon the men emerging from the foam, and again actively running to quarters to resume the heavy oars.

If the raft goes down unbroken, they guide it so as to preserve the very strength of the stream, until the diminished pace again demands their labour; but if any timbers are severed from the parent bed by the leap, as is frequently the case, the sternmost gang leisurely dart their pile-headed poles of an almost unwieldy length into the stray logs, and thus drawing them quickly back again, secure them in their places preparatory to the next fall lying on their perilous path.

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I felt monstrously excited when, roused by the cry of the near *voyageurs* , I rose for the first time to witness a scene to which I feel my pen can do but little justice; from the first glance at the timber-ends emerging past a leafy turn in 309 the up-stream, and bounding onward with a momentary increase of impetus, until the strong raft becomes but as a bed of straw upon the torrent. Then there is the desperate plying of the oars, their hurried abandonment, with the in-gathering, of the bold crew clinging together with cheers round their bright flag, until the leap is made, and the assailing waves rise boiling about and above them.

One of the descending rafts, for we were favoured with several, parted in nearly two halves within the rapids: luckily no one had been left out of bounds; for, as the fishermen assured us, the strongest swimmer is never seen alive after his first plunge into these frightful eddies.

Having abided our time, we purchased a fine shad, which we took to a near cottage, where the mistress cheerfully set about *boucan* -ing it for us; that is, roasting it over the fire in the smoke of the wood. With this, some brown-bread, and a glass of water, we made an excellent luncheon; then, after taking a considerable circuit, re-entered Montreal, and crossed at once to the island *par excellence*.

At half-past eight P. M. of the same evening I was put on board the "British America" steam-boat, 310 a fine large-class vessel, having a heavily laden schooner in tow.

As we swept down before the river-front of the city, I was struck with the appearance of the steep tin-roofed houses and many little domes glancing back the moon's rays; when, turning to regard St. Helen's, the blaze of a port-fire arrested my attention; the flash of the gun instantly succeeded, whilst, amidst its prolonged echoes, rose the contending notes of drum and bugle. It was just nine o'clock; in a few moments all was again calm and still, the last spire of Montreal quickly retreated in the shades of night, and the low banks of the St. Lawrence stretched away far and wide before us.

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After a couple of hours' walk on deck, where two or three ladies and gentlemen were promenading with the quick, active step that at once proclaimed them English, I felt sufficiently wearied by some eighteen hours actively passed on foot or in saddle, to calculate on a sound sleep.

About midnight a devil of a row awakened me; I listened, and heard a rush overhead like a burst of cavalry, the trampling of horses, the yelling of dogs, together with the loud voices of 311 many men in high contention. What the mischief can have come to us? thinks I.

A stray waiter, whom I discovered discoursin' a friend in the pantry, was at last made sensible of my calls, and from this youth I quickly learned our whereabouts.

We were lying at Sorrel, the country-residence of the Governor, Lord Aylmer; and the noise was occasioned by the shipping of his lordship's stud for Quebec, whither the family had removed from this summer abode, to await and receive the commission about to supersede him in his high office.

Finding that the din was not occasioned by an infall of the aborigines, but was only a peaceful taking in of freight, I dismissed my waiter to his friend and pantry, and "addressed me again to sleep."

Sunday , 7 th. —About noon arrived at *Trois Rivières* , a very pretty little town, which, being Sunday, was thronged with the rural population of the vicinity attending church.

Numbers of these persons were pacing along the river-bank upon sturdy little ponies, and in the harbour were many *bateaux* filling with them, before re-crossing the St. Lawrence: their 312 dress was invariably neat and picturesque, and their physiognomy, though somewhat heavy, was gentle and pleasing. These *bateaux* were shaded with the branches of trees, and decorated with wild flowers, and when moving off with their freight had quite an Arcadian appearance.

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From this place to St. Anne's, the north bank of this river might be sketched for the same side of the Mississippi as viewed from New Orleans to Baton Rouge; a natural levee runs along at about the same elevation, on a like dead level; directly behind this bank are scattered similar poor-looking tenements, badly built, and half painted; and, at a certain distance in the rear of these, rises a melancholy-looking forest of half-naked trees, with not a single rise or gap along the hazy line of the horizon resting upon them. The glowing heat of this calm day also favoured the illusion, which was certainly in all its points the most perfect imaginable: it would require very little to persuade a man landed here on such a day that he was in Louisiana.

The river again becomes interesting about the junction of the Richelieu. The banks are once more broken and of irregular heights. 313 Numerous churches, having domes and spires like the *béfrois* of Normandy, only that these are roofed over with pure tin, shoot above each wooded knoll; and the stream whirls and boils amongst reefs of irregular rock, some hidden, others visible, moving at a great pace for the ticklish navigation.

At three P.M. the Heights of Abraham hove in sight, and our prospect grew in interest with every moment. Next rose a forest of tall masts along the shore; away upon our right was Point Levi, with its soft wooded brow; and above our heads upon the left glistened tower and town, with the grim batteries hanging over the precipice.

As we drew closer, the ruins of the Chateau formed an object of striking interest, and gave added effect to the approach to this most picturesque capital; an object of interest which I hope will soon be removed by his Majesty's loyal and liberal parliament for Lower Canada, and a new edifice erected, in a style becoming to their taste and worthy such a site.

The valley of Montmorency, with its long straggling suburb, soon opened to our view; and the river assumed the appearance of a 314 lake encircled by mountains, and bounded at its eastern extremity by the Isle of Orleans.

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I was perfectly enraptured with air, earth, and water: freshness and beauty reigned over all; there was not a cloud in the sky or a spot on the landscape one would have desired blotted out; and, taken as a *coup d'œil* , I do not hesitate to say this was by far the finest I ever beheld.

Sunday though this was, there was much bustle in the harbour. Little dwarfish steamers were flying across the channel in opposite directions; long boats, laden with sea-worn emigrants, were rowing from the shore back to their respective ships.

It was pleasant to look on these poor people coming back from a first attendance at the altars raised, by their predecessors in exile, amidst a wilderness now made, by the industry Heaven has blessed, so glorious.

How cheering in their eyes must have been this sunny view of the land of their adoption! How must their hearts have leaped within them as they pressed for the first time its shores, and heard once more the sound of the churchgoing bell, and kneeled in gratitude before that type of salvation which they came to bear yet 315 deeper within the bosom of the desert, themselves the hardy pilgrims of a new crusade! their *hâches d'armes* , their stout wood-axes; their lances, the goads of the patient steer; their artillery, the plough and harrow; their advance, the progress of industrious hardihood; their bloodless victory, a blessing to the field they win, a glory to the banner under which they strive: braving peril, toil, and exile for a country to be made holy by their triumph, and consecrated at once to freedom and to God!

It was impossible to contemplate unmoved this rustic chivalry, this banding of men of every European tongue for a common purpose, so pregnant with good for themselves and for their posterity.

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Let the healthful tide roll on, here is boundless space for all comers; and ages must pass before willing toil shall fail to find present employment, cheered by the prospect of ultimate independence.

About five P. M. we were landed. In company with Captain W—s, U. S. A. I ascended the mountain; and, as our time was limited, we had no sooner secured good quarters at the hotel than we sallied forth to survey the works, which are, 316 I understand, of the strongest and most perfect description, sufficiently guaranteeing Quebec against all surprisal for the time to come.

The finest view is that offered from the Signal-tower.

The city, Point Levi, the winding river, with the Isle of Orleans, lay clearly spread beneath our feet as in a well-designed panorama, with such light and shadow as the artist is seldom favoured with, except in imagination.

Coming down from the fort, I was happy enough to encounter Captain Doyle, driving a right London-appointed tilbury. He had been to the hotel in search of me, and now, dismissing his boy, installed me in the vacancy, and set off at once for the field of battle on the Plains of Abraham.

Our first pull-up was by a little potato-field, memorable as the spot where the gallant Wolfe fell. A broken column of black marble had just been erected here by Lord Aylmer: a tribute honourable to the taste of the gallant soldier living, and which will henceforward worthily mark the spot where the young victor died.

After viewing over the battle-ground, with the ascent from Wolfe's Cove, we turned back to the 317 city and drove to the Chateau, or rather to its ruins. We walked through the blackened hall out upon the still firm floor of the gallery, or balcony, overlooking at a giddy height the lower town. From this we strolled through the hanging-garden of the Chateau,

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which is laid out on terraces cut from the face of the precipice, and hedged in by a range of cannon of the largest calibre.

Took coffee with Doyle in a chamber, which, although placed at a somewhat unfashionable altitude, commanded a prospect worth all the labour of a threefold flight. Finding it a hopeless task waiting for night, that is, for darkness, went home and to bed, a little wearied, but more delighted, leaving directions to be called at five A.M. having arranged with Captain W—s to ride at that hour to the Falls of Montmorency.

Monday , 8 th. —In saddle by half past five A. M. with a morning that made these narrow, dusty streets look both cool and clear. The market-folk were already in motion from the country, having light carts filled with the articles they supply to the *bourgeoisie*.

Crossing a long wooden bridge, whose toll was collected by a sturdy old invalid soldier, 318 we entered, soon after, a perfect French village of interminable length, closely flanking the highway, and possessing a very large and well-built church, fronted, after the fashion universal here, by a couple of spires, with a large dome in the centre, all coated over with bright tin, and so glittering famously in the morning sun.

A tolerable road brought us in ten miles or so to the object of our early gallop. Hitching the horses beneath a near shed, we roamed about looking how best to descend; until discovering a ladder planted against the face of the precipice, we took to this, and going down it about seventy feet, were landed upon a table-rock exactly on a level with the torrent, and at the very point whence it makes its down leap into a bay of the St. Lawrence, a portion of it being arrested, and turned to the ignoble use of a wool-carding mill, which abuts on the very edge of the cataract.

I have no sort of doubt that, had I been brought hither before seeing Niagara, I should have felt duly impressed by its grandeur, which is unquestionably of a character sufficiently striking to inspire a much less sensitive admirer of the sublime in nature; as it was, this fall

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only brought fresh to my recollection the scene I had 319 looked upon the year before, no feature of which can ever be effaced by any other object.

At this day I can find no adequate language wherein to dress my impressions of that wonder. Of Montmorency I only know that I felt, whilst viewing it, as though other doings of Nature might be found every way fellow to it: that such things, in fact, were existing elsewhere, or might be.

But Niagara in its greatness makes all else little. It stands, incomparable and alone, a time-defying monument of creation as first called from chaos; one feels that the waters of the deluge may have risen above it and subsided, leaving it unaltered. It is possible to imagine all other worldly things either changed, or within the scope of mutation and the power of Time. You feel that with most earthly things you have a right to speculate, to calculate on their endurance, to control and to direct them: but never so with old Niagara. Its aspect awes man into nothing, it mocks at his dreams, and defies alike his wisdom and his power.

Certain points on this Montmorency road afford, I fancy, the finest view of Quebec. Two sides of the city are presented, with its close 320 streets, and bright-roofed buildings, rising irregularly tier over tier, and crowned by the formidable lines of defence over which the cross of Old England waves proudly in the breeze. Opposite swells the softer outline of Point Levi, sprinkled with pretty cottages, and separated from the mountain by a narrow channel. As a foreground, the smooth bay lies spread between, and over all bends a sky without a cloud, glowing in the colour of the early morning sun.

With this scene before us, we rattled back at a merry pace, reaching our quarters by a little after eight A. M. We found horses here awaiting to carry us to the Chateau to breakfast, an attention of Captain Doyle's which, after a hasty toilet, we availed ourselves of.

My steed, who had probably an eye to his own breakfast rather than to mine, made a bolt for the stable just as we gained the house; I strove to persuade him to take me to the door by the only means I possessed—patience, civility, and a stick: but he would not be

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'ticed; I lost my patience, forgot my civility, and broke my stick, yet he fairly bullied me, till, finding my saddle turning, I left him to go his own way, and ungraciously ceded the point in dispute.

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After breakfast, my American soldier companion being naturally solicitous to witness guard mounting, I accompanied him on to the parade, and had the pleasure of seeing the 79th Highlanders come on the ground, with the band and pipes playing alternately. It was really quite refreshing to see this fine corps in such order; the men were uncommonly good-looking fellows, and fairly shook the ground with their measured tread.

Of all our soldiers no arm attracts the notice and admiration of strangers so much as the Highland corps; the striking colours of the costume, its picturesque arrangement, the waving of the gay plaid and plume, together with the strange wild skirl of the bagpipes, lay hold on the imagination, and are at the same time so unlike the military array of any other country, that no comparison is ever suggested as a drawback.

It was no easy matter to tear oneself away from the hospitalities tendered from every quarter here; but finding that after this night no boat was to sail until Wednesday, and having pledged myself to be at Montreal on that day, I even buckled on the armour of resolution, and, making a virtue of necessity, broke away in time VOL. II. Y 322 to join Captain W—s on board the steamer, at ten o'clock P. M. Within a quarter of an hour after we left the wharf, making a sweep downwards in order to take a large brig in tow from her moorings in the stream.

This chance and the correspondent delay, afforded us an opportunity of viewing the city from various points. The night was lovely, and the deep shadows of the towering mountain, with each salient angle made bright by the silver moon, formed a picture altogether enchanting.

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The ruins of the Chateau, with the rays of bright light streaming through its open roof and many windows over the blackened broken walls, became, however, my chief object of admiration.

I trust the good citizens of Quebec, having been afforded this opportunity, will erect a pile here worthy the site; a castellated building would perhaps be the style best adapted to this, and would come well in with the river line of defence, whose strong curtain runs parallel with the terrace, from which the windows of the Chateau look perpendicularly upon the streets two hundred feet below.

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At Wolfe's Cove we approached close under the wooded heights, where we took in tow a second brig; then sheering out, began painfully to ascend the current with a dead head-breeze, and having these monsters yawing about on each quarter.

Our Titan steamer groaned, and heaved, and strained, as though but sulkily submitting to this added charge, and doing the master's work, in the spirit of Caliban, under the spell of a higher intelligence.

Tuesday, 9th. —Find that during the night our progress continued painfully slow; indeed, only that the wind lulled, we could not have stemmed the rapids; but when above the Richelieu we made better way, arriving at Trois Rivières about noon, with a fine fair breeze blowing up the stream.

The brigs were here cast loose to make the best of their way whilst we took in a supply of wood. Meantime, Captain W—s and I took a stroll about the town, which in itself is pretty, and agreeably situated. All this day the breeze continued favourable, and consequently our pace was tolerable. How long we should have been with a head-wind, it is impossible to say. Y 2

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Wednesday , 10 th. —I was this morning on deck by four A.M. and was well repaid for my early rising. We were some thirty miles distant from Montreal, as our pilot informed me: the land on either side was low, but soft, verdant, and well wooded, with the prettiest-looking villages dotted along from point to point. At times, three or four of these, with their triple-spired churches, were at once visible as we slowly steered through groups of islets of every form and size, but all of a colour of unequalled purity.

I cannot wonder at the rapturous language used in the description of these places by the sea-wearied discoverers who viewed them for the first time in the summer season; for even I, with no such spur to imagination, find it difficult to stick to sober prose when recalling the luxuriant growth of these isles of the far North. It would appear as though Nature, aware that the possession of beauty is with them extremely limited, had resolved, by way of compensation, to render their short-lived loveliness surpassing.

At last was seen, high towering over all, the rounded top of the fairest of the hundred isles of the St. Lawrence, St. Helen's; and, shortly after, the glittering domes of the city of Montreal 325 gave warning that our up-voyage was drawing to a happy conclusion.

Thursday , 11 th. —This morning took a farewell stroll over St. Helen's, which, on a surface of a mile in length by half a mile in breadth, has all the attractions Nature could devise scattered with a most liberal hand. It is shadowed and scented by a hundred sorts of odorous shrubs and flowers. The groves are filled with birds of beautiful plumage; the graceful blue bird, the enamelled hummer, and the cardinal, with his hood of the brightest scarlet, are for ever on the wing in pursuit of the shad-fly. The pert woodpecker climbs the trees, and along the shores sits the contemplative heron, watching the rapids flowing by, which are, during certain seasons, absolutely alive with fish.

In short, I cannot imagine a more perfect summer abode in such a climate. The aromatic air wafted into one's window on a morning here, made it a delight to open it. The chamber I occupied looked out upon the grassy rampart and over it, affording a sight of the city

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in its best aspect, and the noble river dividing us from it. Close opposite to my window was a winding path, completely shaded, which led from 326 the fort to the little harbour where the island fleet lies moored; which fleet consisted at this time of an Indian canoe, the soldiers' large market-boat, and the officers' cutter. Some one or other of these were almost constantly on the wing between isle and main; and really it was worth while, once a day, to take a sniff of the fishy atmosphere of the hot city, in order fully to appreciate the advantages of the cool pure air of *la belle île*.

At four P.M. after having taken leave of my island friends, whose attentions had rendered my stay here so delightful, I set off with my old comrade W—w, and Mr. E—r, who had decided upon accompanying me as far on my way as St. John's. We found the La Prairie steam-boat quite crowded with the farmers of the continent, on their way home from the market of Montreal: amongst these were some French; but the majority was composed of lowland Scotch and Irish, with a fair proportion of Highlanders.

During our short passage I passed to and fro, below and above, amongst these various specimens of my fellow-subjects, but was at last fairly brought up by the look and gestures of a couple of men engaged in close argument.

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The one was a person well stricken in years, with fine white hair straying beneath the broad leaf of his decent beaver hat; he had a keen small eye, well covered by a pair of thick grey eyebrows; with features much wrinkled, but full of intelligence: he was slightly humpbacked, and otherwise bent by the weight of years.

His antagonist was a low, square-built fellow, with a set of blunt features, quick sparkling little eyes, a ruddy complexion, and a broad low brow, over which was set, with a somewhat jaunty air, a blue bonnet. Both were evidently Scotch; the younger disputant, by his high shrill tone and peculiar pronunciation, a true Celt.

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I soon discovered “the Glasgow body” was engaged in giving a lecture to the sturdy mountaineer upon the absolute folly of seeking to uphold exclusively the Gaelic tongue: the Highlander, who was head-vestryman in his parish, having, as it came out, lately advertised for a clergyman who could officiate in that ancient language. It may readily be supposed that between such disputants the argument was a warm one.

The Glasgow elder, slow, precise, and very energetic withal, insisted that the land they stood upon was no strangers' land; that they were not expected, like the Israelites of old whilst in a condition of bondage, to hold themselves a people apart; that the English tongue and English laws were lawfully theirs; and that those were the wisest men and the best subjects who learned the first in order that they might neither be ignorant nor forgetful of the last.

The hielan' man admitted, frigidly enough I thought, the present supremacy of English law and language, but insisted that the congregation upon their settlement absolutely needed a Gaelic pastor to preach the word, and no other; for, although all of them understood the Gaelic, full one half knew no word of English!

“More shame for them!” exclaimed the Glasgow man; “what for don't they learn it? Puir prejudiced bodies that they are!”

“What for no?” retorted quickly the nettled Highlander: “why, because they just prefer their ain: and I can't say I wonder at it all; for I know baith, and must aver, Mr. Dalgleish, that my preference is wholly for ta Gaelic, which is a finer language, and a petter and older language, and of a petter and an older nation by far.”

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“Hoot tout!” coolly responded old Glasgow; “Ye're just daft on thae points, Duncan M'Nab: why, man alive! yer' nae people at hame, much less here, where you are as the least plash flung from the paddle-wheel below us to the braid stream on which it drops to mingle with

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its waters; a lesson ye may tak profit by. Ye've neither country, nor laws, nor government that owns yer tongue on the whole face o' God's airth, if ever ye had either; whilst the laws and language o' England are at this time universal! ay, sir, universal, or at least mair sae than any one tongue ever yet was since the Lord made men strangers to their fellows at the confounding o' Babel."

"Ta Gaelic was spoken before tat day!" sharply bolted out M'Nab, "and was spoken since tat day by a bigger nation tan England ever was, or ever will be! Tak tat, now, Mr. Dalgleish!"

"Well now, see, Duncan M'Nab," continued the cooler Lowlander, in a tone provokingly unmoved; "that, I'm thinking, must be a matter o' doubt, rather than well-authenticated history; and before I either anger ye by contradicting it, or wrang my ain sense by allowing you the benefit o' t, I'll just seek counsel o' this gentleman, who evidently has a feelin' in our argument, although he taks no part in it by words. What say ye, sir?" he added, directly appealing to me; "shall we allow M'Nab's folk the credit o' havin' given a language to the world more universal than the English tongue?"

"I think you may, my good friend," replied I, thus engaged to speak, and in no way willing to spoil the controversy; "and this without losing any advantage by such an admission, seeing, that if the Gaelic were once so general, I don't think it a matter of credit or congratulation to its people that it is now extinguished, or only kept alive by the patriotic prejudices of a few clansmen in the Hielans and by the ignorance of my own countrymen in portions of Ireland."

"Ha!" cries Glasgow; "that's a hit, sir, and one that didna' occur to my mind! Now, M'Nab, how say ye to this? Why the deevil didna' ye keep yer ground that time ye had it all yer ain way, and no be lettin' strangers win it clean frae ye?"

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"Ta' Gaelic was ta language o' Wallace and o' Bruce, and of Cyrus, who came before them," 331 urged the Gael, hotly, "and who will say thae were easy to beat?"

"Who ever said that a Hielanman was easy to beat?" here cannily put in Glasgow: "not that I altogether allow Cyrus, or Wallace, or Bruce to ha' bin Hielanders; though I won't say that they didna' speak Gaelic: but fac's are ill to argue down, and the real fac' o' this matter is, M'Nab, that here Lowlander and Hielander are a& alike English, and it is not our duty alane, but our interest, to foregoe all thae hame prejudices, that have wrought us harm enough, and lang enough, without importing them here, to be left as an evil legacy to our children to keep them as strangers to ane anither."

"Look here, Mr. Dalgleish," demanded M'Nab, "do you admit your belief in election and free grace?"

At this I fairly bolted off the course; but in a few minutes after, whilst preparing to land at La Prairie, my old Glasgow-man sidled along by me, with an inquiry as to my pursuit and my name, in order, he added, that he might remember our pleasant argument, whispering in my ear as we separated,

"Hielanmen are aye weel enough in some 332 particulars, sir; but they're just fairly eat up wi' pride and superstition, and fu' o' prejudices. At hame or abroad it's aye the like; they're of a race that can only be improved by amalgamation and time. I wish you a very pleasant passage hame, sir, and a good evening to you!"

Returning his civility, I was here separated from my elder. In about half an hour after I was about to quit the hotel, in the extra we had engaged for St. John's, when my Hielander, whose warm heart I had won by some honest commendation of his native country, ran up to me to shake hands, saying with a loud laugh,

"Ta old man was a good man, and a well-educated man; but a Glasgow is always a Glasgow; sell his web or his waens for ta money, and carein' as little for either kin or

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country as does ta cuckoo. God bless you, and if ever you should see Ben Nevis again, think on Duncan M'Nab that will see it no more."

Away ran the active Hielander, after his party, who were proceeding by the shore road, and in a few minutes my companions and myself were jolting at the rate of three miles and a half an hour over the ruts of La Prairie.

It is really surprising to observe how these 333 sons of the Celt adhere to their native tongue, and preserve every early custom that is in any way practicable.

In the mountains of North Carolina there exists a colony of Sutherland Highlanders, two-thirds of whom speak no English, and who possess negroes who only know Gaelic; even within thirty miles of Philadelphia I stumbled upon a family in the third generation, or rather I ought to say, found the three generations together. The children tottering before the doors had, as had their fathers before them, a duck-pond to wade in, with a dung-heap "quite convenient" to sun themselves upon in common with the pigs and fowls, and they were all lisping the Gaelic tongue with the most unsophisticated ignorance of any other whatever.

On one or two occasions I considered our present journey about to be concluded by an overturn into the canal, along whose bank we rolled most critically, as we neared our harbour; we were, however, landed in due time all safe, and procured a very good supper.

Friday , 12 *th*. —Left St. John's with a couple of gentlemen in canoe for Ile aux Nois, there to abide the coming of the steam-boat. The 334 heat was intense, but our canoe-men were a pair of lusty old lads, Canadians, and they pulled us up stream merrily at the rate of six miles an hour, keeping close beneath the trees growing out of the lake, here a narrow channel merely.

We found Fort Lennox garrisoned by a party of the 32nd regiment, under the command of Major Swinburne, who was resident here with his family. The fort is regularly and well

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built, and the defences are in excellent order, save that the facing of the ditch, being of wood, is tumbling in at most points, to the great danger of the foundation. As this place is considered worthy a garrison, it would be as well that this ditch should be faced with stone, in a way becoming the other defences, all of which appear to be built in the best manner, and are in good preservation.

At three o'clock P. M. the steamer was announced in sight, and we hastened to the little wharf where the captain always lands to show his clearance; a matter of form which is strictly observed.

The inhabitants, at least the civilians, were all assembled on the wharf, for this arrival was the event of the day. The little group was composed of two or three officers' ladies, with their families.

335

Amongst these I noticed one pretty black-eyed English girl, who I fancied looked after the boat as it left the shore, and was whirled alongside the steamer, with a mournful glance, wherein I read the word home written as plainly as I ever read it in a book.

"I wish you were returning to your home, my sweet girl," replied I, in the same language, "and that I might be your escort; you should be well and honestly guarded, at all events."

In a moment I was for ever sundered from this object of my commiseration; yet had my eyes only been as expressive as hers, all I have set down here might have been read therein.

Away we sped along the winding lake, turning from shore to shore, now visiting one pretty landing, now another; a mode of proceeding that is, amidst such scenery, perfectly delightful.

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Saturday , 13 th. —Breakfasted at Whitehall, and took the middle line to Albany, traversing a wild sterile country, over bad roads and worse bridges, until we reached Sandy-hill, where the noble Hudson bursts upon the view.

From this point to Albany the river is never lost sight of; and a grateful sight the beautiful stream afforded to a sun-dried, half-smothered 336 traveller, to turn from the dusty track and contemplate its cool waters and pleasant groves.

I sincerely pity the heart to which a drive, at such a season, through this valley of the Hudson, brings no gladness. Talk of the beauties of the river from New-York to Albany, when, after all, it is here they are to be found; here where its waters are seen flowing between banks at times richly wooded, towering high and bold; then sinking suddenly, as they sweep for miles a continuous line of natural meadows, whose rich fringe of waving grass drinks for ever of the passing stream.

In many of these places the country puts on a park-like appearance, and you travel by hill and dale and glance down trim-looking slopes, dotted with irregular clumps of ornamental trees of the finest foliage and of all kinds, from the graceful silver ash and the umbrageous butter-nut, to the tall sombre-looking pine, and the wide-spreading elm.

The river itself is as changeful in its aspect as the lovely country through which it flows; in places its whole breadth is occupied by a stony bed over which it leaps along, forming for a mile or so a gentle uniform rapid. At the next 337 turn it is seen freed from all impediment, moving majestically and slowly through deep-cut banks, or circling round some little islet won from the neighbouring plain.

During our journey we crossed the canal which runs near the river frequently, and the Hudson itself twice, by fine covered bridges.

We also passed through several pretty towns; Schuylersville, a beautiful romantic site; Mechanicsville, a bustling thriving place, with a considerable population, and where I

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noticed a great number of young girls of an appearance remarkably neat. It was Saturday afternoon, labour was passed for the week, and the street and neighbourhood presented an appearance most creditable to the operatives who are here congregated in a lovely neighbourhood.

By the time we reached Waterford it was dark: here we crossed the Hudson, near the Cohoos' Falls; and at Troy were ferried over, back again, coach, horses, a waggon, and a couple of oxen, in a schow, or flat boat, by torchlight.

From our last landing-place to Albany runs a well Macadamized road of noble proportions, and on this our wearied horses appeared to gain VOL. II. Z 338 fresh courage, for they trotted along nimbly, setting me down at the door of the Eagle shortly after midnight.

Sunday , 14 th. —Down the Hudson to New York, where I rested for a few days, intending to embark from this port; but finding the ships of every line crowded, and likely to be crowded for some time to come, I decided, in company with an excellent voyaging companion, who had resolved upon sharing my fortunes, to proceed to Philadelphia, and sail from that place, in the Algonquin packet-ship of the 20th inst. which promised equal comforts with fewer candidates; the length of the Delaware making Philadelphia less popular as a packet-station.

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GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE COUNTRY AND OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

DEPARTURE.

“ Nothing is more common than to hear directly opposite accounts of the same countries; the difference lies not in the reported but the reporter.” This observation is strictly correct as a general application, but more especially so when directed to the United States of America, its people, and its institutions, as viewed by Englishmen, whose prejudices, strong at all times, and governing their opinions in all places, are more absolutely freed

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from restraint and self-suspicion when set loose upon a people directly descended from themselves, and inheriting and retaining their customs and their language.

Discrepancies are here also occasioned in many cases by circumstances over which travellers can Z 2 340 have no control, and for whose influence they are no way accountable; hence things are very differently described, not so much from the reporters having taken opposite views of the same objects, but because objects themselves are constantly and rapidly changing their aspects.—Take the following as an instance.

I remember to have read in one of our most distinguished publications a few years back a laboured review of a book on America, wherein the writer found occasion to notice railroads; one of this kind being then in contemplation as an improved medium of communication between New York and Philadelphia.

The able reviewer—for right able he was—must have been either an American or one well acquainted with the face of the country, its trade, the people, their present condition, and future prospects. The statistics of the States in question were at his finger-ends; he produced sound evidence in support of each proposition: he advanced; and the argument thus sustained went to prove, beyond all doubt, that the spirit of speculation was in this, as in many other particulars, leading the American people to the verge of madness, and their country to certain 341 bankruptcy. That in leaving their magnificent lakes, their endless rivers, and the smooth waters of their coast,—the highways created by Providence for their use, and amply sufficient for their purposes—to waste their wealth, distract their commercial views, and agitate their politics in the projection of railroads that could never be completed, or, if completed even, would not pay, in our time, the expense of repairs, or endure the severity of the climate; to construct which the material must be imported from England, and after every severe winter would require to be renewed, was, in effect, quitting the substance for the shadow, and, if begun in folly, could not fail to end in ruin and disappointment.

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I never in my life perused any article more philosophical in spirit or more conclusive in argument; the scheme was clearly shown not only to be absurd but impracticable, and the projectors proved either to be presumptuous imitators, or men profligately speculating upon the ignorant credulity of their fellow-citizens.

I closed the review, in short, admiring the clear judgment and practical farsightedness of the writer; pitying the Yankees, for whom I 342 cherished a sneaking kindness, and inwardly hoping that this very clever exposition of the folly of their seeking to counteract the manifest designs of Providence, which had so clearly demonstrated their paths, might produce as full conviction on their minds as it had on mine.

Well, I forgot the article and its subject, and was only reminded of it by finding myself one fine day whisking along at the rate of twenty miles an hour over a well-constructed railway, one of a cargo of four hundred souls. The impossibility had, in fact, been achieved; and, in addition to the natural roads offered by Sea, Lake, and River, I found railways twining and locomotives hissing like serpents over the whole continent from Maine to Mississippi: Binding the cold North to the ever-flowing streams of Georgia and Alabama, literally, with bonds of iron, and forming, indeed, the natural roads of a country whose soil and climate would set at nought all the ingenuity of M'Adam, backed by the wealth of Croesus and the flint of Derbyshire to boot.

Now, had such a result been prognosticated only a very few years back, the man whose foresight had led to such a large view of the subject would 343 have been mouthed at as mad all over the American continent, and written down knave or ass, or both, in every practical journal of Europe.

Such great changes constantly agitated, and reduced to practice with a promptitude of which even England, with her wealth, industry, and enterprise, has little notion, make discrepancies between the facts and opinions of rapidly succeeding travellers, for which neither the veracity nor the judgment of the parties can fairly be impugned.

Action here leaves speculation lagging far behind; the improvement once conceived is in operation by such time as the opposing theorist has satisfactorily demonstrated its impracticability; and the dream of to-day is the reality of to-morrow.

I feel, in fact, a difficulty in describing without seeming hyperbole the impressions I daily received, and beheld confirmed by facts, of the extra-ordinary spirit of movement that appears to impel men and things in this country; this great hive wherein there be no drones; this field in which every man finds place for his plough, and where each hand seems actually employed either "to hold or drive."

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For ever wandering about as I was, and visiting, as I frequently did, the same places at intervals again and again, I had occasion to be much struck with a state of things of which I was thus afforded constant evidence: take for instance,

My first journey in Sept. 1833, between New York and Philadelphia, was by steam-boat and railway, having cars drawn by horses over thirty-five miles, which thus occupied five hours and a half. In October of the same year I did the same distance by locomotive in two hours. When first I visited Boston, the journey was performed in twenty-four hours, by steamer to Providence, thence to Boston by stage; the same distance now occupies fifteen hours, a railway having been last spring put in operation between Providence and Boston.

Again, in 1834, the traveller had but one rough route from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. You can now go a third of the distance by railroad, and, getting into a canal-boat, are dragged over the Alleghany mountains, through a series of locks not to be surpassed for strength or ingenuity of contrivance.

In 1833, the journey from Augusta, Georgia, to New York was an affair of eleven or twelve 345 days; it is now performed in three. Steam and railroad are, in fact, annihilating time and space in this country. In proof of it, I can safely assert that if a traveller visiting the

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South-west, say, from Savannah to New Orleans, will be at the trouble of recollecting this book in the year 1837, he will find the account of the difficulties of my journey extremely amusing; since, in all human probability, he will perform that in five days, which took me, with hard labour, perseverance, discomfort, not to say, some peril of life or limb, just eighteen.

It is these revolutions, and such as these, that form the true wonders of this country; that stimulate curiosity, excite interest, and well repay the labour of any voyager imbued with a grain of intelligence or observation, to say nothing of philosophy.

It is to these results, their causes, and their immediate and probable effects, his mind's eye will be irresistibly drawn, not to spitting-boxes, tobacco, two-pronged forks, or other conventional *bagatelles*, the particulars of each of which, as a solecism in polite manners, can be corrected and canvassed by any waiter from the London Tavern, Ludgate Street, and by every *grisette* 346 from America Square to Brompton Terrace, who may choose to display their acquired gentility "for the nonce;" and it is the absence of a spirit of philosophy generally in our writers, and this affectation of prating so like waiting-gentlewomen, that stings Americans, and with some show of reason, when they see the great labours of their young country with the efforts of its people passed lightly by, and trifles caught up and commented upon, whose importance they cannot comprehend, and which they have neither leisure nor example to alter or attend to.

After much and close observation, I say fearlessly, that, in all conventional points, good society in the States is equal to the best provincial circles in England. The absence of a court, together with the calls of business, necessarily preclude the possibility of any class acquiring that grace of repose, that perfection of ease, which cultivation, example, and a conscious knowledge of the world gives to the *beau-monde* of Europe; on the other hand, in the absence of this, you are seldom pestered with the second-hand ladies'-maid airs of your pretenders to exclusive gentility, so common amongst Europeans.

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The great mass of Americans are natural, 347 therefore rarely vulgar; and if a freshness of spirits, and an entire freedom from suspicion and the many guards which ill-bred jealousy draws around the objects of its care, may be viewed, as indeed they ought to be, as proofs of high feeling and true culture, then are the men of America arrived at a point of civilization at once creditable to themselves and honourable to their women, as nothing can be more perfectly unrestrained than the freedom enjoyed in all good families here. Strangers once introduced find every house at all times open to them, and the most frequent visits neither create surprise nor give rise to suspicion.

Hospitality is inculcated and practised, and the people entertain with a liberality bordering on profuseness: the merit of this is enhanced by the great trouble the absence of good domestics entails on the mistress of even the best establishments. Ladies are here invariably their own housekeepers, yet, nowhere is the stranger more warmly welcomed, and in no country is more cheerful readiness evinced in preparing for his entertainment.

The hand of welcome is also extended and sympathy encouraged towards the persecuted, whether 348 of fortune or despotism. The exile is sure to find shelter and security here, without encountering suspicion, whether necessity or choice induced him to abandon his country.

Honoured be the land which offers to the stranger a free participation, on equal terms, of all it holds dearest! Hallowed be the institutions which hold out to talent a free field, and where honest ambition knows no limit save the equal law!

I shall ever love America for the happy home it has proved to the provident amongst the exiles from Ireland. In almost every part of the land, they form an important portion of the freemen of the soil. If, on becoming American, they have not at all times ceased to be Irish in that full degree the political economist would desire, there are many allowances to be made for them.

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Let it not be considered an unpardonable enormity that the poor Irishman runs a little riot when suddenly and wholly freed from the heavy clog by which the exhibition of his opinions has been restrained at home. It is not surprising that those who have been for life hoodwinked should fail to see clearly for themselves in all cases; or that, falling upon interested guides, they are occasionally led astray.

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Wayward and wilful I will admit them sometimes to be, and in evil hands their misdirected energies may for a time become the instruments of evil. Mistaken in judgment they may often be, for such is the lot of humanity, but regardless of right and justice they seldom are, and ungrateful or ungenerous they cannot be. The evidence of their native spirit of enterprise is found in their daily braving destitution in the hope of bettering their hard lot. Their hatred of oppression is proved by their ill-directed, but constant struggles for equal rights; and, if kind-heartedness and charity cover a multitude of sins, no people on earth can justly claim a larger stock. In illustration of which I will present one proof out of the many I possess, because it will at once serve as an illustration of my assertion, and gratify those who love to contemplate the bright side of poor humanity.

The following statement was enclosed to me by an excellent Quaker, one of the partners of, the house from whose books the document is extracted, with a letter which I need not insert here, but will add, that the statement is incontrovertible.

“From the 1st of January 1834, to the 1st 350 of May 1835, Abraham Bell and Co. of New York have received from the working classes of Irish emigrants, that is, from common labourers, farm servants, chambermaids, waiters, &c. to remit to their friends and kindred in Ireland; the sum, of fifty-five thousand dollars, in amount varying from five dollars upwards. The average amount of the whole number of drafts sent is twenty-eight and a half dollars each.”

New York, May, 19th, 1835.

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There is not a part of the country to which I have wandered, where I did not find that a like gentle recollection of the destitute left at home prevailed. In every large city is some one or more Irish house, which becomes the popular medium through which these offerings of the heart are transmitted to the miserables at home. When it is reflected that the donors are themselves the poorest of the poor, and that often at the close of their first summer, they are found transmitting their earnings to some mother, or aunt, or sister, without providing against or thinking, of the severity of approaching winter, no eulogy can be too strong.

“Well, but look, David,” remonstrated my kind friend H—in New Orleans, to a poor 351 fellow who, after three months' hard labour, brought him forty-five dollars to send home, “let me recommend you to keep back ten dollars of this to buy yourself a warm coat; we have a cold month coming, man, and you are ill off for covering,”

“It's true for ye, sir,” cried Davy, scratching his head, and glancing down at his ragged garments, “bud it's only for a month you'll be havin' cowl'd here, and the poor crature at home has a long winter to get over, and her as bare as myself, and less able for id. The clothes cost a heap o' money here, too, I find; and if you plase, sir, in the name o' God, send all I have home, and I'll keep off the cowl'd, when it comes, by workin' the harder.”

Instances are constantly occurring of labourers, landing at a good season, going to work though hardly able from weakness, and at the end of their first week bringing three or four dollars to be sent home.

I will not multiply instances, as I might do, nor need I offer further comment. I confess freely that I have a pride in setting this much-enduring class of my countrymen before the English people, who, generous themselves, know 352 how to appreciate good in others. At these times one page of fact is worth a volume of unsupported eulogium. If the present short statement contributes to promoting a kind feeling towards a little known, although much abused class, it will have accomplished the end contemplated, and in doing this, will have served all parties.

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Friday , 19 th. —After passing four days with my New York friends, on this morning, at six A.M. descended from No. 1; and having bade Mr. Willard a final adieu, quitted the City Hotel, where, during many comings and goings, I had always lodged, and where I had constantly experienced the greatest attention.

Reached Philadelphia, in company with a few kind friends, and found that the Algonquin had that morning dropped down to Newcastle. Made one or two calls, and early to bed.

Saturday , at six A.M. went on board the steamer, and in a couple of hours after got a sight of our ship, at anchor near Newcastle, where we arrived about nine A. M.

Whilst attending upon the arrangement of my baggage on the quay here, a little boy delivered me a parcel, It was directed to me, with the donor's compliments and good wishes.

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On opening it, I found it contained a roll of caricatures, together with one of the earliest journals ever printed in Pennsylvania, and a couple of copies of the latest journal started here, being the first number of a Newcastle journal that very day published.

In an hour after, we embarked; and this attention of a stranger was the last kind act of the many courtesies which I have received in this country, which I quit with the feelings of a son of the soil.

After dropping down as far as Delaware city, we anchored for the tide. As it blew fresh, our pilot determined not to weigh before daylight.

Sunday 21 st. —On coming from between decks found that we were well out in the bay, a schooner standing for us to take our pilot. I descended to the cabin to write a note or two, and found myself almost involuntarily scribbling verses. 'Tis an odd freak of my fancy, that although never addicted to poetizing, and ordinarily incapable of manufacturing a

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couplet that will jingle even, I am rarely agitated by any strong feeling, without having a sort of desire to rhyme; luckily the delusion is exceedingly short-lived, and unfrequent in its visitations. The VOL. II. 2 A 354 reader shall, however, have all the benefit of my present attempt, as I feel bound to treat him, who may have held on with me thus far, with perfect confidence.

ADIEU.

Written on board Packet Ship Algonquin, Captain Cheney—Bay of Delaware—pilot about to quit the ship—two p. m.—June 21st, 1835.

Adieu, Columbia! I have mark'd thee well, Nor yet for ever do I leave thee now; And busy thoughts of thee my bosom swell, And thronging recollections load my brow: I've pierced, from North to South, thy eternal woods, Have dream'd in fair St. Lawrence' sweetest isle; * Have breasted Mississippi's hundred floods, And woo'd, on Alleghany's top, Aurora's smile.

* St. Helen's.

And now we part! The ship is flying fast, Her pathway deck'd with whirling wreaths of foam; And all the swelling sails that bend each mast Obey the flag, which, fluttering, points to "Home!" Home! home! that tender word let me retrace, And bid each letter conjure o'er the sea Some cherish'd wish, and every well-loved face, To banish thought of those from whom I flee.

Yet shame I not to bear an o'er-full heart, Nor blush to turn behind my tearful eyes: 'Tis from no stranger-land I now depart: 'Tis to no strangers left I yield these sighs.

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Welcome and home were mine within the land Whose sons I leave, whose fading shore I see; And cold must be mine eyes, and heart, and hand, When, fair Columbia! they turn cold to thee.

At three P.M. our pilot quitted us; by four we had lost sight of the coast of Jersey, and, with a flowing sheet, were bounding over the Atlantic. Except a week's bad weather on the Banks of Newfoundland, this was a most delightful passage. No ship could be better found than the Algonquin, and no man more solicitous about the comfort of his passengers than the excellent Captain Cheney.

On July the 14th we made Cape Clear; and on the 16th I once more entered the Mersey, about the same hour, and on the same day of the month, in which I had left it two years before; and to make the coincidence more striking, we passed the Europe, in which I had gone out, so close, as she quitted the harbour, that our letters for America were tossed on board. 2 A 2

APPENDIX.

The following extracts from Reports of the War Minister, and of the Indian Department, can hardly fail to prove interesting, as they describe correctly the condition of this people, and the care taken for their future security by the American Government. The Reports are authentic, and are taken from an excellent work, the National Calendar for the Year 1835.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Sir, Since my last annual report, no military movement of any importance, with the exception of the expedition of the regiment of dragoons, has been rendered necessary.

It is known to you that some of the Western tribes of Indians, roaming through the extensive prairies west of Arkansas and Missouri, particularly the Camanches and Kiowas, have, for some years, interrupted the peace of that quarter, by predatory attacks upon our

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citizens, and upon the indigenous and emigrant Indians whom we are under obligations to protect. Their war parties have annoyed our citizens in their intercourse with the Mexican States, and have rendered the communication difficult and hazardous. It became necessary to put a stop to this state of things, either by amicable representations, or by force. Those remote tribes have little knowledge of the strength of the United States, or of their own relative weakness; and it was hoped that the display of a respectable military force for the first time in their country, would satisfy them that further hostilities would lead to their destruction. The dragoons, being peculiarly adapted to this service, were ordered to penetrate into that region, and to endeavour, by peaceable remonstrances, to establish permanent tranquillity; and, if these should fail, to repel any hostile demonstrations which might be made. Fortunately, the efforts to introduce amicable relations were successful, and the object of the expedition was obtained, without a single act of hostility. Colonel Dodge, who led the expedition, and his whole command, appear to have performed their duties in the most satisfactory manner; and they encountered with firmness the privations incident to the harassing service upon which they were ordered. It is to be regretted that the prevalence of sickness prevented the whole regiment from joining in this duty, as the same zeal for the public interest pervaded the whole. That sickness deprived the country of some valuable lives, and, among others, of Brigadier General Leavenworth. Impelled by his anxiety to forward the views of the government, he exposed himself, while yet weak, to the hardships of a border campaign, and sunk under the malady which these induced. His high personal character, his services during the late war, and his exemplary official conduct since, are too well known to you to require from me anything more than this brief allusion to his worth and fate.

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The commission for the adjustment of unsettled relations with the Indians west of the Mississippi, terminated by the provisions of the act instituting it, in July last. Important benefits have resulted from the labours of the commissioners in the adjustment of difficult questions connected with the Indians of that region, and in the treaty arrangements which

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have been entered into by them. The country assigned for the permanent residence of the eastern Indians has been so apportioned among them, that little difficulty is anticipated from conflicting claims, or from doubtful boundaries; and, both in quality and extent, there can be no doubt but that the region allotted to them will be amply sufficient for their comfortable subsistence during an indefinite period of time.

An important council has been held at Fort Gibson, by Colonel Dodge, and by Major Armstrong, the superintendent of Indian affairs, with the chiefs of several of the tribes of that quarter, including some of the wandering bands, whose predatory operations have heretofore kept the frontier in alarm. At this council, the situation of the Indians was fully discussed, and amicable relations established. It is to be hoped that the feelings with which they separated will be permanent, and their intercourse hereafter uninterrupted.

The united tribe of Pottawatamies, Ottawas, and Chippewas, possessing the country in the vicinity of Chicago, have conditionally acceded to the alteration proposed in the boundaries of the tract assigned for them west of the Mississippi, by the treaty concluded in 1833. Should their proposition be accepted, an extensive and valuable region will be opened for settlement, and they will be removed to a district whose climate is suitable to their habits, and whose other advantages cannot fail to offer them strong inducements for moral and physical improvement.

An arrangement has been made with the Miamies for the cession of a part of their reservation in the State of Indiana. The tracts held by them are far more extensive than they require; and as they appear to be not yet prepared for removal, this relinquishment, without injuring them, will relieve the State, in some measure, from the embarrassment caused by such large reservations as they possess, embracing a most valuable part of the country, and interrupting the settlements and communication.

Instructions were given, immediately after the last session of Congress, for purchasing from the Wyandots in Ohio, if they were disposed to sell, the reservation secured to

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them in that state, and for their removal to the west. The commissioner, Governor Lucas, conducted the negotiation with great fairness and propriety, fully explaining to the Indians their own position, the wishes of the government, and the course of circumstances urging their removal. The matter is not yet terminated, the Indians having requested time for further consideration.

The necessary appropriations will be asked for the removal of the Seminoles, agreeably to the treaty formed with them; and arrangements have been made for the emigration of the Creeks, as fast as they are prepared for a change of residence. There has not yet been sufficient time to ascertain the result of these measures.

I am not able to submit to you any more favourable views of the condition of the Cherokees than were embraced in my last annual report. While every dictate of prudence, and, in fact, of self-preservation, urges their removal, 361 unhappy councils and internal divisions prevent the adoption of that course. Where they are, they are declining, and must decline; while that portion of the tribe which is established in the west, is realizing the benefits which were expected to result from a change of position. The system of removal, however, by enrolment, is going on, and during this season about one thousand persons have passed to the west.

The treaty concluded the 24th of May last, with the Chickasaws, has altered the relations in which they were placed with the United States. The proceeds derivable from a portion of their present possessions have been assigned to them, and reservations have also been provided for such as choose to become citizens of the United States. Their future condition now depends upon their own views and experience, as they have a right to remain or remove, in conformity with their own judgment. The means placed at their disposal are fully adequate to their permanent comfortable establishment, and it is to be sincerely hoped that they will apply them wisely.

The acts of the last session of Congress, on the subject of Indian affairs, have introduced important changes into those relations. Many of the provisions of former laws had become inappropriate or inadequate, and not suited to the changes which time and circumstances had made. In the act regulating the intercourse with the various tribes, the principles of intercommunication with them are laid down, and the necessary details provided. In that for the re-organization of the department, the number of officers employed has been much reduced, and the current expenses diminished.

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Any changes which experience may show to be necessary in these acts, can from time to time be provided, until they shall become fully adapted to the situation and condition of the Indians, and to the intercourse, both commercial and political, which ought to exist between them and our government and citizens. The system of removal has changed essentially the prospects of the emigrants, and has imposed new obligations upon the United States. A vast tract of country, containing much more than one hundred millions of acres, has been set apart for the permanent residence of these Indians, and already about thirty thousand have been removed to it. The government is under treaty stipulations to remove nearly fifty thousand others to the same region, including the Illinois and Lake Michigan Indians, with whom a conditional arrangement has been made. This extensive district, embracing a great variety of soil and climate, has been divided among the several tribes, and definite boundaries assigned to each. They will there be brought into juxtaposition with one another, and also into contact, and possibly into collision, with the native tribes of that country; and it seems highly desirable that some plan should be adopted for the regulation of the intercourse among these divided communities, and for the exercise of a general power of supervision over them, so far as these objects can be effected consistently with the power of Congress, and with the various treaty stipulations existing with them. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive how peace can be preserved, and the guaranty of protection held out to the eastern Indians fulfilled, without some legislative provision upon this subject. Lew. Cass.

CONDITION OF THE ARMY.

Extract from the Report of the Major-General of the Army.

Since my last annual report, the five companies of the regiment of dragoons, which remained to be raised, have been recruited; and, after having been organized at Jefferson barracks, they took up their march to Fort Gibson, where the head-quarters of the regiment were established, preparatory to entering the Indian country, in conformity to your instructions.

In consequence of the lateness of the arrival of these companies at Fort Gibson, and a variety of unforeseen difficulties in obtaining the proper arms and equipments for the regiment, the movement to the west was delayed until the 15th of June.

In the mean time, General Leavenworth, who had been appointed to the command of the troops on the western frontier, south of the northern boundary of the State of Missouri, detached one company of that regiment as an escort to the caravan of traders to Santa Fe, in Mexico. He also employed detachments of the third and seventh regiments of infantry in opening roads between the posts on the Arkansas and Red rivers, and in establishing new posts beyond the settlements of the emigrated Indians, for the purpose of facilitating the movements of the expedition, and covering the country occupied by those Indians, in the event of a failure to secure a friendly intercourse with the wild tribes inhabiting the country beyond them.

These arrangements having been made, the expedition, consisting of nine companies, under Colonel Dodge, was put in motion, accompanied by a deputation from the several 364 tribes of friendly Indians, to act as guides and interpreters, and to aid in bringing about a general good understanding between the several nations; and in order that the friendly intercourse might be further promoted, two Indian girls, the one a Pawnee, and the other

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a Kiowa, who had been captured by the Osages, also accompanied the expedition for the purpose of being delivered to their friends.

Owing to the sickness which prevailed among the troops, the command, on reaching the river Washita, about one hundred and eighty miles west of Fort Gibson, was so much reduced as to render a re-organization of the companies necessary. Colonel Dodge accordingly, out of the effective force, formed six companies, each forty-two strong, and, under instructions from General Leavenworth, continued his march to the Pawnee village, situated on a branch of the Red river. Here Colonel Dodge held a council with the Camanches, the Pawnees, (or Toyaslas,) the Kiowas, and the deputation of Indians which accompanied him, amounting in all to about two thousand persons. He explained the object of the expedition, and was instrumental in bringing about a friendly intercourse between several hostile tribes. He also obtained the surrender of the son of a Mr. Martin, an American citizen, who had been murdered by the Indians, and of a black boy captured by them. A more particular account of the interview between Colonel Dodge and the assembled tribes will be found in the journal of the expedition, annexed to this report.

After delivering the two Indian girls to their parents, Colonel Dodge, accompanied by several of the chiefs of the Camanches, Pawnees, and Kiowas, returned with his command 365 to Fort Gibson, whence the regiment proceeded to take up the positions previously fixed on. Four companies, under Colonel Dodge, marched to Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri; three companies, under Lieutenant-colonel Kearney, to the Des Moines; and three, under Major Mason, to a point on the Arkansas, about eighty miles above Fort Gibson. These companies have arrived at their destinations, and are engaged in preparing their winter quarters.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Operations under the Indian Department during the year 1834.

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Measures have been adopted for the execution of the several treaties with the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Appalachicolos, Quapaws, the united bands of Otoes and Missouriias of the river Platte, and the four confederated bands of Pawnees of the Platte and the Loup Fork, all of which were ratified at the last session of Congress. Preparatory steps have also been taken for the removal of the Creeks and Seminoles, and it is expected that a considerable portion of those tribes will be removed beyond the Mississippi during the ensuing season, and a happier home in the domains set apart for their residence, under the guaranty of the United States.

In pursuance of instructions from the department, General William Marshall, Indian agent for the Miamies, opened a negotiation recently with the chiefs of that tribe, for the purchase of their land in the State of Indiana. He has succeeded in procuring from them a cession of two hundred thousand acres, on terms advantageous to themselves 366 and the United States. It may be considered the precursor to a total cession of their remaining land in that State, and their consequent emigration to the western territory; a result desirable in many respects, especially connected with advantages to a portion of our citizens, and doubly gratifying from its being compatible with the best interests of the tribe.

The alteration proposed by a resolution of the Senate at the last session of Congress, in the boundaries of the land granted by the Chicago treaty of 1833 to the united nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatamie Indians, has received their assent under certain modifications, specified in their agreement of the 1st of October last.

No material alteration has taken place during the past year in the condition of the Cherokees. The question of emigration finds them still divided, and a considerable portion appear to be insensible of the manifest benefits accruing from its adoption. Without tolerable unanimity, it is impossible to proceed with it advantageously to all parties interested in the general issue. In the mean time, the division has engendered much malignancy, and the opposing parties appear to evince a rancour bordering on hostility. Occasionally their animosity has broken out into acts, of violence, and, in, one instance,

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resulted in the death of a very meritorious and much regretted individual. On his return from their National Council at Red Clay, in August last, where the question of emigration was agitated in a tumultuous and excited meeting, John Walker, jun. one of their leading men friendly to its adoption, was waylaid and shot. The necessary orders, for the arrest of the assassins were promptly issued by Governor Carroll, the present executive of Tennessee. Several persons are now 367 in confinement on a charge of having taken part in the murder. Should the occasion call for it, the military will be ordered out for the protection of those who decide on emigration, and of the emigrating officers of the government engaged in this hazardous and responsible service.

A negotiation has been commenced by Governor Lucas, of Ohio, with the band of Wyandots in that State, for a cession of their remaining land, and their removal to the west of the Mississippi; and recent communications furnish strong grounds of belief that under his judicious management it will be eventually brought to a successful close.

The expedition to the far West, under the command of General Leavenworth, undertaken in compliance with orders from the War Department, for the objects therein detailed, proceeded on its route through regions almost unknown, and amid difficulties of the most perplexing nature. In consequence of the death of that brave and lamented officer while in the performance of duty, the command devolved on Colonel Dodge, who returned with the expedition to Fort Gibson, bringing along a number of the chiefs of the Pawnee and Kioway Indians,—bold and warlike tribes, who have entertained no very friendly feelings towards our citizens, between whom and them there had hitherto been but little intercourse. These tribes being borderers on the newly occupied Indian territories, it became imperative to repress their hostile disposition, under the guaranty of the United States to afford adequate Protection to the emigrating Indians.

With the view of establishing pacific relations between these and other tribes, a general council was held under the auspices of Colonel Dodge and Major F. W. Armstrong, 368 which resulted in mutual engagements of peace and friendship, fortified by proper

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intimations on the part of those officers, on behalf of their government, of support to the injured, and punishment to aggressors.

At the general council, impressive speeches were delivered by several chiefs of the Creek, Cherokee, Osage, and Choctaw tribes. In their addresses to the warlike chiefs then assembled, they took occasion substantially to observe, "that their people had opened their ears to the advice which had been given to them, and adopted the habits of the white man, and that by so doing they had become peaceful, prosperous, and happy; that they had relinquished the chase, and cultivated the earth, and that by becoming agricultural they lived in peace, and in the enjoyment of abundance; and that the same inestimable benefits would assuredly await all the tribes who would walk in the same path."

The duties and services of the commissioners west have closed by the expiration of their commission, according to the provisions of the act under which they were appointed. Great benefit has resulted to the various tribes by virtue of their mission. Important treaties were concluded by them, existing divisions were healed, difficulties that threatened collision were settled, and a spirit of peace and conciliation was infused among the Indians through their instrumentality.

There is little mention to be made of Indian hostilities during the past year: they have been few, and those not of an aggravated nature. A steady and onward course is observable among the Indian tribes towards the grand point of civilization. Their long imputed indomitable spirit of revenge, and their eager thirst for war, have undergone a sensible change in the process of meliorating circumstances. The happiest consequences may be anticipated from extending the means of tuition among their young people, from the introduction of mechanical arts into the different tribes, and from the increased attention bestowed on agricultural pursuits, under the patronage of government, throughout the territories of emigration; nor can the gratuitous but useful labours of the missionary, and the inculcation of the pure doctrines of Christianity, be overlooked in the enumeration of means that are conducing to the great end so precious in the sight of the philanthropist,

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and so dear to the finest sympathies of our nature—the transformation from the cold and barren confines of savage life to the sunny and fertile regions of civilization and religion.

INDIAN SCHOOLS.

The annual donation to the Baptist General Convention is 2,000 dol.; to the American Board of Foreign Missions, 2,200 dol.; to the Roman Catholic Church, 1,300 dol.; to the Methodist Episcopal Church, 400 dol. Other donations are made, upon representations entitled to favourable consideration.

The number of Indian children receiving instruction at the different schools is eighteen hundred. Exclusively of these, there are one hundred and fifty-six Indian scholars at the Choctaw academy in Kentucky, the expense of whose education is defrayed from funds appropriated by the Indians themselves, under treaty provisions with different VOL. II. 2 B 370 tribes for this particular object. The flourishing condition of this academy furnishes the best evidence of the sound views and philanthropic motives of those with whom it originated, and leaves the question of Indian improvement in letters and morals upon the social basis no longer doubtful.

Statement, showing the number of Indian Schools, where established, by whom, the number of teachers and pupils, and the amount allowed by the Government.

Names of tribes.	By whom established.	No. of teachers.	No. of pupils	Amount allowed.		
Mohegan, Connecticut,	1	22	500	*Senecas, New York, Baptist Gen'l Convention	4 140 200	
Tuscaroras, do. do. do.	2	71	*Ottawas, Michigan Territory	do. do. 3 40 450	Chippewas.	
do. do. do.	3	48	*Cherokees, North Carolina, do. do.	2 21 600	Menomonies, Michigan,	
Protestant Episcl. Church,	5	66	500	Winnebagoes, do. Menomonies, do. Catholic Church,	3 150 1000	
Ottawas, do. Shawanees west of Mississippi,	Methodist Episcl. Church,	3	27	Delawares, do. do. do.	2 23	
Peorias, do. do. do.	2	18	Kickapoos, do. do. do.	2 70	Cherokees, do. Baptist Gen'l Convention,	2 25
†Creeks, do. do. do.	4	38	721			

* The Convention also support one district school among the Ottawas and Cherokees, and three among the Senecas.

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† Two of these teachers are natives.

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Statement showing the amount and disposition of the funds provided by treaties for purposes of education.

Tribes. Date of treaty. Amount. Disposition of the funds. Miamies, Oct. 23, 1826 2,000 00 Choctaw Academy. Pottawatamies, Oct. 16, 1826 2,000 00 do. Do. Sept. 20, 1828 1,000 00 do. Do. Oct. 27, 1832 2,000 00 do. Winnebagoes, Sept. 15, 1832 3,000 00 School, Prairie du Chien. Chippewas, Sept. 24, 1819 1,000 00 Baptist Gen. Convention. Chippewas, Menomonies &c. Aug. 11, 1827 1,500 00 Protestant Epis. Church. Menomonies, Feb. 8, 1831 500 00 do. Sacs, Foxes, & others, July 15, 1830 3,000 00 Choctaw Academy. Kickapoes, Oct. 24, 1822 500 00 School in the nation. Shawanees & Delawa's, Oct. 26, 1832 500 00 do. Choctaws, Sept. 27, 1830 12,500 00 do. Creeks, east, Mar. 24, 1832 3,000 00 Choctaw Academy. Cherokees, west, May 6, 1828 2,000 00 School in the nation. Floridas, Sept. 18, 1823 1,000 00 Choctaw Academy. Creeks, Feb. 14, 1833 1,000 00 do. Quapaws, May 13, 1833 1,000 00 Not disposed of. Otoes and Missourias, Sept. 21, 1833 500 00 do. Pawnees, Oct. 9, 1833 1,000 00 do. Chickasaws, May 24, 1834 3,000 00 Choctaw Academy.

These tables exhibit the number of teachers and pupils at the schools, of the condition of which reports have been received.

In all of them instruction is imparted in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. At many of them the boys are initiated in branches of the mechanic arts, and cultivate the soil. At the Tuscarora station, in New York, tuition is imparted on the plan adopted for infant schools, and with marked success. The temperance society contains eighty members, the sabbath school thirty pupils, and fifty are united to the church. The children at the Mohegan school, in Connecticut, are employed on farms cultivated by natives: others of the youth of this band enter on board the ships in the whale fishery: and, as an indication of a spirit of enterprise and industry, the 2 H 2 372 wish of some to cultivate the mulberry-tree, with a view to the establishment of a silk manufactory, may be cited.

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The American Board of Foreign Missions propose to print at the Union station, in the Cherokee country west of the Mississippi, books in the languages of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Osages; and the Rev. Mr. M'Coy, under the auspices of the Baptist General Convention, has issued proposals for publishing a semi-monthly periodical at the Shawanee mission, three hundred miles west of St. Louis. Several books have been printed at this press in the languages of the different tribes. The object of Mr. M'Coy and his associates is to furnish historical sketches of past, and notices of present occurrences, including the transactions of the general government and of societies.

The Choctaw academy, in Kentucky, contains one hundred and fifty-six pupils; this number will be increased by fifteen Chickasaws, as the chiefs of that tribe have recently requested their education money might be expended at this institution. The inspectors, in their last report, represent the academy to be in a highly prosperous condition; the buildings erected to be upon a plan convenient and economical; the provision made for the comfort and health of the scholars to be liberal; and the care taken to promote their moral and intellectual advancement kind and parental. The buildings and school apparatus are valued at eight thousand dollars. The cost of winter clothing for each scholar is estimated at forty-six dollars and twenty-two cents, of the summer clothing at thirty-one dollars and eighty-six cents. This academy, conducted judiciously, will, at no distant day, send forth scholars 373 competent to teach others, and thus accomplish the object of Congress, indicated by its legislation at the last session.

Upon the recommendation of two members of Congress, aid has been rendered to Morris B. Pierce, a Seneca, who is now at Thetford academy, Vermont, fitting himself to enter Dartmouth college, in New Hampshire.

An Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers.

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Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled* , That all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana, or the Territory of Arkansas, and also that part of the United States east of the Mississippi river, and not within any state to which the Indian title has not been extinguished, for the purposes of this act, be taken and deemed to be the Indian country.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted* , That no person shall be permitted to trade with any of the Indians (in the Indian country) without a licence therefor from a superintendent of Indian affairs, or Indian agent or sub-agent, which licence shall be issued for a term not exceeding two years for the tribes east of the Mississippi, and not exceeding three years for the tribes west of that river: and the person applying for such licence shall give bond in a penal sum not exceeding five thousand dollars, with one or more sureties, to be approved by the person issuing the same, conditioned that such person will faithfully observe all the laws and regulations made for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and in no respect violate the same. And the superintendent of the district shall have power to revoke and cancel the same, whenever the person licensed shall, in his opinion, have transgressed any of the laws or regulations provided for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, or that it would be improper to permit him to remain in the Indian country; and no trade with the said tribes shall be carried on within their boundary, except at certain suitable and convenient places, to be designated from time to time by the superintendents, agents, and sub-agents, and to be inserted in the licence; and it shall be the duty of the persons granting or revoking such licences, forthwith to report the same to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for his approval or disapproval.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted* , That any superintendent or agent may refuse an application for a licence to trade, if he is satisfied that the applicant is a person of bad character, or that it would be improper to permit him to reside in the Indian country, or

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if a licence previously granted to such applicant has been revoked, or a forfeiture of his bond decreed. But an appeal may be had from the agent or the superintendent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and the President of the United States shall be authorized, whenever in his opinion the public interest may require the same, to prohibit the introduction of goods, or of any particular article, into the country belonging to any Indian tribe, and to direct all licences to trade with such tribe to be revoked, and all applications therefor to be rejected; and no trader to any other tribe shall, so long as. such prohibition may continue, 375 trade with any Indians of or for the tribe against which such prohibition is issued.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted* , That any person other than an Indian who shall attempt to reside in the Indian country as a trader, or to introduce goods, or to trade therein Without such licence, shall forfeit all merchandize offered for sale to the Indians, or found in his possession, and shall moreover forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted* , That no licence to trade with the Indians shall be granted to any persons except citizens of the United States: *Provided* , That the President shall be authorized to allow the employment of foreign boatmen and interpreters, under such regulations as he may prescribe.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted* , That if a foreigner shall go into the Indian country without a passport from the War Department, the superintendent, agent, or sub-agent of Indian affairs, or from the officer of the United States commanding the nearest military post on the frontiers, or shall remain intentionally therein after the expiration of such passport, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars; and such passport shall express the object of such person, the time he is allowed to remain, and the route he is to travel.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted* , That if any person other than an Indian shall, within the Indian country, purchase or receive of any Indian, in the way of barter, trade, or pledge, a gun, trap, or other article commonly used in hunting, any instrument of husbandry or

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cooking utensils of the kind commonly obtained by the Indians in 376 their intercourse with the white people, or any other article of clothing except skins or furs, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty dollars.

Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted* , That if any person other than an Indian shall, within the limits of any tribe with whom the United States shall have existing treaties, hunt, or trap, or take and destroy, any peltries or game, except for subsistence, in the Indian country, such person shall forfeit the sum of five hundred dollars, and forfeit all the traps, guns, and ammunition in his possession, used or procured to be used for that purpose, and peltries so taken.

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted* , That if any person shall drive, or otherwise convey, any stock of horses, mules, or cattle, to range and feed on any land belonging to an Indian or Indian tribe without the consent of such tribe, such person shall forfeit the sum of one dollar for each animal of such stock.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted* , That the superintendent of Indian affairs, and Indian agents and sub-agents, shall have authority to remove from the Indian country all persons found therein contrary to law; and the President of the United States is authorized to direct the military force to be employed in such removal.

Sec. 11. *And be it further enacted* , That if any person shall make a settlement on any lands belonging, secured, or granted by treaty with the United States to any Indian tribe, or shall survey or shall attempt to survey such lands, or designate any of the boundaries by marking trees or otherwise, such offender shall forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars. And it shall, 377 moreover, be lawful for the President of the United States to take such measures, and to employ such military force, as he may judge necessary to remove from the lands as aforesaid any such person as aforesaid.

Sec. 12. *And be it further enacted* , That no purchase, grant, lease, or other conveyance of lands, or of any title or claim thereto, from an Indian nation or tribe of Indians, shall be

of any validity in law or equity, unless the same be made by treaty or convention entered into pursuant to the constitution. And if any person, not employed under the authority of the United States, shall attempt to negotiate such treaty or convention, directly or indirectly, to treat with any such nation or tribe of Indians for the title or purchase of any lands by them held or claimed, such person shall forfeit and pay one thousand dollars: *Provided , nevertheless ,* That it shall be lawful for the agent or agents of any state who may be present at any treaty held with Indians under the authority of the United States, in the presence and with the approbation of the commissioner or commissioners of the United States appointed to hold the same, to propose to and adjust with the Indians the compensation to be made for their claim to lands within such state which shall be extinguished by treaty.

Sec. 13. *And be it further enacted ,* That if any citizen, or other person residing within the United States or the territory thereof, shall send any talk, speech, message, or letter to any Indian nation, tribe, chief, or individual, with an intent to produce a contravention or infraction of any treaty or other law of the United States, or to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the United States, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of two thousand dollars.

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Sec. 14. *And be it further enacted ,* That if any citizen, or other person, shall carry or deliver any such talk, message, speech, or letter, to or from any Indian nation, tribe, chief, or individual, from or to any person or persons whatsoever residing within the United States, or from or to any subject, citizen, or agent of any foreign power or state, knowing the contents thereof, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand dollars.

Sec. 15. *And be it further enacted ,* That if any citizen or other person residing or living among the Indians, or elsewhere, within the territory of the United States, shall carry on a correspondence, by letter or otherwise, with any foreign nation or power, with an intent to induce such foreign nation or power to excite any Indian nation, tribe, chief, or individual to war against the United States, or to the violation of any existing treaty; or in

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case any citizen or other person shall alienate, or attempt to alienate, the confidence of any Indian or Indians from the government of the United States, he shall forfeit the sum of one thousand dollars.

Sec. 16. *And be it further enacted* , That where, in the commission, by a white person, of any crime, offence, or misdemeanor, within the Indian country, the property of any friendly Indian is taken, injured, or destroyed, and a conviction is had for such crime, offence, or misdemeanor, the person so convicted shall be sentenced to pay to such friendly Indian to whom the property may belong, or whose person may be injured, a sum equal to twice the just value of the property so taken, injured, or destroyed. And if such offender shall be unable to pay a sum at least equal to the just value or amount, whatever such payment shall fall short of the same shall be paid out of the treasury of the united States: *Provided* , That no such Indian shall be entitled to any payment, out of the treasury of the United States, for any such property, if he, or any of the nation to which he belongs, shall have sought private revenge, or attempted to obtain satisfaction by any force or violence: *And provided also* , That if such offender cannot be apprehended and brought to trial, the amount of such property shall be paid out of the treasury, as aforesaid.

Sec. 17. *And be it further enacted* , That if any Indian or Indians, belonging to any tribe in amity with the United States, shall, within the Indian country, take or destroy the property of any person lawfully within such country, or shall pass from the Indian country into any state or territory inhabited by citizens of the United States, and there take, steal, or destroy any horse, horses, or other property belonging to any citizen or inhabitant of the United States, such citizen or inhabitant, his representative, attorney, or agent, may make application to the proper superintendent, agent, or sub-agent, who, upon being furnished with the necessary documents and proofs, shall, under the direction of the President, make application to the nation or tribe to which said Indian or Indians shall belong, for satisfaction; and if such nation or tribe shall neglect or refuse to make satisfaction in a reasonable time, not exceeding twelve months, it shall be the duty of such superintendent, agent, or sub-agent, to make return of his doings to the Commissioner of Indian affairs,

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that such further steps may be taken as shall be proper, in the opinion of the President, to obtain satisfaction for the injury; and, in the mean time, in respect to the property so taken, stolen, or destroyed, the United States guaranty to the party so injured an eventual indemnification: *Provided* , That if such injured party, his representative, attorney, or agent, shall, in any way violate any of the provisions of this act, by seeking or attempting to obtain private satisfaction or revenge, he shall forfeit all claim upon the United States for such indemnification: *And provided also* , That, unless such claim shall be presented within three years after the commission of the injury, the same shall be barred. And if the nation or tribe to which such Indian may belong, receive an annuity from the United States, such claim shall, at the next payment of the annuity, be deducted therefrom, and paid to the party injured; and if no annuity is payable to such nation or tribe, then the amount of the claim shall be paid from the treasury of the United States: *Provided* , That nothing herein contained shall prevent the legal apprehension and punishment of any Indians having so offended.

Sec. 18. *And be it further enacted* , That the super-intendents, agents, and sub-agents, within their respective districts, be and are hereby authorized and empowered to take depositions of witnesses touching any depredations within the purview of the two preceding sections of this act, and to administer an oath to the deponents.

Sec. 19. *And be it further enacted* , That it shall be the duty of the superintendents, agents, and sub-agents to endeavour to procure the arrest and trial of all Indians accused of committing any crime, offence, or misdemeanor, and all other persons who may have committed crimes or offences within any state or territory, and have fled into the Indian country, either by demanding the same of the chiefs of the proper tribe, or by such other means as the President may authorize; and the President may direct the military force of the United States to be employed in the apprehension of such Indians, and also in preventing or terminating hostilities between any of the Indian tribes.

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Sec. 20. *And be it further enacted* , That if any person shall sell, exchange, or give, barter, or dispose of any spirituous liquor or wine to an Indian, (in the Indian country,) such person shall forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars; and if any person shall introduce, or attempt to introduce, any spirituous liquor or wine into the Indian country, except such supplies as shall be necessary for the officers of the United States and troops of the service, under the direction of the War Department, such person shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars; and if any superintendent of Indian affairs, Indian agent, or sub-agent, or commanding officer of a military post, has reason to suspect, or is informed, that any white person or Indian is about to introduce, or has introduced, any spirituous liquor or wine into the Indian country, in violation of the provisions of this section, it shall be lawful for such superintendent, Indian agent, or sub-agent, or military officer, agreeably to such regulations as may be established by the President of the United States, to cause the boats, stores, packages, and places of deposit of such person to be searched; and if any such spirituous liquor or wine is found, the goods, boats, packages, and peltries of such persons shall be seized and delivered to the proper officer, and shall be proceeded against by libel in the proper court, and forfeited, one half to the use of the informer, 382 and the other half to the use of the United States; and if such person is a trader, his licence shall be revoked and his bond put in suit. And it shall moreover be lawful for any person in the service of the United States, or for any Indian, to take and destroy any ardent spirits or wine found in the Indian country, excepting military supplies, as mentioned in this section.

Sec. 21. *And be it further enacted* , That if any person whatever shall, within the limits of the Indian country, set up or continue any distillery for manufacturing ardent spirits, he shall forfeit and pay a penalty of one thousand dollars: and it shall be the duty of the superintendent of Indian affairs, Indian agent, or sub-agent, within the limits of whose agency the same shall be set up or continued, forthwith to destroy and break up the same; and it shall be lawful to employ the military force of the United States in executing that duty.

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Sec. 22. *And be it further enacted* , That in all trials about the right of property in which an Indian may be a party on one side, and a white person on the other, the burden of proof shall rest upon the white person, whenever the Indian shall make out a presumption of title in himself from the fact of previous possession or ownership.

Sec. 23. *And be it further enacted* , That it shall be lawful for the military force of the United States to be employed in such manner and under such regulations as the President may direct, in the apprehension of every person who shall or may be found in the Indian country in violation of any of the provisions of this act, and him immediately to convey from said Indian country, in the 383 nearest convenient and safe route, to the civil authority of the territory or judicial district in which said person shall be found, to be proceeded against in due course of law; and also, in the examination and seizure of stores, packages, and boats, authorized by the twentieth section of this act, and in preventing the introduction of persons and property into the Indian country contrary to law; which persons and property shall be proceeded against according to law: *Provided* , That no person apprehended by military force as aforesaid shall be detained longer than five days after the arrest and before removal. And all officers and soldiers who may have any such person or persons in custody shall treat them with all the humanity which the circumstances will possibly permit; and every officer or soldier who shall be guilty of maltreating any such person while in custody, shall suffer such punishment as a court martial shall direct.

Sec. 24. *And be it further enacted* , That, for the sole purpose of carrying this act into effect, all that part of the Indian country west of the Mississippi river, that is bounded north by the north line of lands assigned to the Osage tribe of Indians, produced east to the State of Missouri; west, by the Mexican possessions; south, by Red river; and east, by the west line of the Territory of Arkansas and the State of Missouri, shall be, and hereby is, annexed to the Territory of Arkansas; and that, for the purpose aforesaid, the residue of the Indian country west of the said Mississippi river shall be, and hereby is, annexed to the judicial district of Missouri; and, for the purpose aforesaid, the several portions of Indian

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country 384 east of the said Mississippi river shall be, and are hereby, severally annexed to the territory in which they are situate.

Sec. 25. *And be it further enacted* , That so much of the laws of the United States as provides for the punishment of crimes committed within any place within the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, shall be in force in the Indian country: *Provided* , The same shall not extend to crimes committed by one Indian against the person or property of another Indian.

Sec. 26. *And be it further enacted* , That if any person who shall be charged with a violation of any of the provisions or regulations of this act shall be found within any of the United States, or either of the territories, such offenders may be there apprehended, and transported to the territory or judicial district having jurisdiction of the same.

Sec. 27. *And be it further enacted* , That all penalties which shall accrue under this act shall be sued for and recovered in an action of debt, in the name of the United States, before any court having jurisdiction of the same, (in any state or territory in which the defendant shall be arrested or found,) the one half to the use of the informer and the other half to the use of the United States, except when the prosecution shall be first instituted on behalf of the United States, in which case the whole shall be to their use.

Sec. 28. *And be it further enacted* , That when goods or other property shall be seized for any violation of this act, it shall be lawful for the person prosecuting on behalf of the United States to proceed against such goods or 385 other property, in the manner directed to be observed in the case of goods, wares, or merchandise brought into the United States in violation of the revenue laws.

Sec. 29. *And be it further enacted* , That the following acts and parts of acts shall be, and the same are hereby, repealed, namely: An act to make provision relative to rations for Indians, and to their visits to the seat of government,—approved May thirteen, eighteen hundred; an act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve

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peace on the frontiers,—approved March thirty, eighteen hundred and two; an act supplementary to the act passed thirtieth March, eighteen hundred and two, to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers,—approved April twenty-nine, eighteen hundred and six teen; an act for the punishment of crimes and offences committed within the Indian boundaries,—approved March three, eighteen hundred and seventeen; the first and second sections of the act directing the manner of appointing Indian agents, and continuing the “Act establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes,”—approved April sixteen, eighteen hundred and eighteen; an act fixing the compensation of Indian agents and factors,—approved April twenty, eighteen hundred and eighteen; an act supplementary to the act entitled “An act to provide for the prompt settlement of public accounts,”—approved February twenty-four, eighteen hundred and nineteen; the eighth section of the act making appropriations to carry into effect treaties concluded with several Indian tribes therein mentioned,—approved March three, eighteen hundred and nineteen; the second section of the act to continue in VOL. II. 2 C 386 force for a further time the act entitled “An act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes, and for other purposes,”—approved March three, eighteen hundred and nineteen; an act to amend an act entitled “An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers,” approved thirtieth of March, eighteen hundred and two,—approved May six, eighteen hundred and twenty-two; an act providing for the appointment of an agent for the Osage Indians west of the state of Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, and for other purposes,—approved May eighteen, eighteen hundred and twenty-four; the third, fourth, and fifth sections of “An act to enable the President to hold treaties with certain Indian tribes, and for other purposes,”—approved May twenty-five, eighteen hundred and twenty-four; the second section of the “Act to aid certain Indians of the Creek nation, in their removal to the west of the Mississippi,”—approved May twenty, eighteen hundred and twenty-six; and an act to authorize the appointment of a sub-agent to the Winnebago Indians on Rock river,—approved February twenty-five, eighteen hundred and thirty-one: *Provided , however ,* That such repeal shall not effect [affect] any rights acquired, or punishments, penalties, or forfeitures incurred, under

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either of the acts or parts of acts, nor impair or affect the, intercourse act of eighteen hundred and two, so far as the same relates to or concerns Indian tribes residing east of the Mississippi: And provided also, That such repeal shall not be construed to revive any acts or parts of acts repealed by either of the acts or sections herein described.

Sec. 30. *And be it further enacted* , That until a 387 Western Territory shall be established, the two agents for the Western Territory, as provided in the act for the organization of the Indian Department, this day approved by the President, shall execute the duties of agents for such tribes as may be directed by the President of the United States. And it shall be competent for the President to assign to one of the said agents, in addition to his proper duties, the duties of superintendent for such district of country, or for such tribes, as the President may think fit. And the powers of the superintendent at St. Louis over such district or tribes as may be assigned to such acting superintendent shall cease. *Provided* , That no additional compensation shall be allowed for such services.

Approved, June 30th , 1834.

An Act to provide for the Organization of the Department of Indian Affairs.

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled* , That the duties of the Governors of the Territories of Florida and Arkansas, as superintendents of Indian affairs, shall hereafter cease, and the duties of the Governor of the Territory of Michigan, as superintendent of Indian affairs, shall cease from and after the establishment of a new territory embracing the country west of Lake Michigan, should such a territory be established. And while the Governor of the said Territory of Michigan continues to act as superintendent of Indian affairs, he shall receive therefor the annual sum of one thousand 2 C 2 388 dollars, in full of all allowances, emoluments, or compensation for services in said capacity.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted* , That there shall be a superintendency of Indian affairs for all the Indian country not within the bounds of any state or territory west of the

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Mississippi river, the superintendent of which shall reside at St. Louis, and shall annually receive a salary of fifteen hundred dollars.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted* , That superintendents of Indian affairs shall, within their several superintendencies, exercise a general supervision and control over the official conduct and accounts of all officers and persons employed by the Government in the Indian Department, under such regulations as shall be established by the President of the United States; and may suspend such officers and persons from their office or employments, for reasons forthwith to be communicated to the Secretary of War.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted* , That the following Indian agents shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall hold their offices for the term of four years, and who shall give bond, with two or more securities, in the penal sum of two thousand dollars, for the faithful execution of the same, and shall receive the annual compensation of fifteen hundred dollars:

Two agents for the Western Territory; an agent for the Chickasaws; an agent for the Eastern Cherokees; an agent for the Florida Indians; an agent for the Indians in the State of Indiana; an agent at Chicago; an agent at Rock Island; an agent at Prairie du Chien; an agent for 389 Michilimackinac and the Sault Sainte Marie; an agent for the Saint Peter's; an agent for the Upper Missouri.

And the following agencies shall be discontinued at the periods herein mentioned, that is to say:

The Florida agency, from and after the thirty-first day of December next; the Cherokee agency, from and after the thirty-first day of December next; the Indiana agency, from and after the thirty-first day of December eighteen hundred and thirty-six; the Chicago agency, from and after the thirty-first day of December next; the Rock Island agency, from and after the thirty-first day of December eighteen hundred and thirty-six; and all other agencies, not provided for in this act, from and after the passing thereof: *Provided* , That the limitation

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of said agencies shall not be construed to prevent the President of the United States from discontinuing the same at an earlier period. And the President shall be and he is hereby authorized, whenever he may judge it expedient, to discontinue any Indian agency, or to transfer the same, from the place or tribe designated by law, to such other place or tribe as the public service may require. And every Indian agent shall reside and keep his agency within or near the territory of the tribe for which he may be agent, and at such place as the President may designate, and shall not depart from the limits of his agency without permission. And it shall be competent for the President to require any military officer of the United States to execute the duties of Indian agent.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted* , That a competent number of sub-agents shall be appointed by the President, with an annual salary of seven hundred and fifty 390 dollars each, to be employed and to reside wherever the President may direct; and who shall give bonds, with one or more sureties, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, for the faithful execution of the same. But no subagent shall be appointed who shall reside within the limits of any agency where there is an agent appointed.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted* , That nothing herein contained shall be construed to require the re-appointment of persons now in office until the expiration of their present term of service; but the commissions of all Indian agents and sub-agents now in office shall expire on the fourth day of March next, unless sooner terminated.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted* , That the limits of each agency and sub-agency shall be established by the Secretary of War, either by tribes or by geographical boundaries. And it shall be the general duty of Indian agents and sub-agents to manage and superintend the intercourse with the Indians within their respective agencies, agreeably to law; to obey all legal instructions given to them by the Secretary of War, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or the Superintendent of Indian Affairs; and to carry into effect such regulations as may be prescribed by the President.

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Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted* , That the President of the United States may, from time to time, require additional security, and in larger amounts, from all persons charged or trusted, under the laws of the United States, with the disbursement or application of money, goods, or effects of any kind, on account of the Indian Department.

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted* , That an interpreter shall be allowed to each agency, who shall receive an annual 391 salary of three hundred dollars: *Provided* , That where there are different tribes in the same agency speaking different languages, one interpreter may be allowed, at the discretion of the Secretary of War, for each of the said tribes. Interpreters shall be nominated, by the proper agents, to the War Department for approval, and may be suspended, by the agent, from pay and duty, and the circumstances reported to the War Department for final action; and blacksmiths shall in like manner be employed wherever required by treaty stipulations; and such blacksmiths shall receive an annual compensation of four hundred and eighty dollars; and if they furnish their shop and tools, an additional sum of one hundred and twenty dollars; and their assistants shall be allowed an annual compensation of two hundred and forty dollars. And wherever farmers, mechanics, or teachers are required by treaty stipulations to be provided, they shall be employed under the direction of the War Department, and shall receive an annual compensation of not less than four hundred and eighty dollars, nor more than six hundred dollars. And in all cases of the appointments of interpreters or other persons employed for the benefit of the Indians, a preference shall be given to persons of Indian descent, if such can be found, who are properly qualified for the execution of the duties. And where any of the tribes are, in the opinion of the Secretary of War, competent to direct the employment of their blacksmiths, mechanics, teachers, farmers, or other persons engaged for them, the direction of such persons may be given to the proper authority of the tribe.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted* , That the compensation 392 prescribed by this act shall be in full of all emoluments or allowances whatsoever: *Provided* , however, That, where necessary, a reasonable allowance or provision may be made for offices and office

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contingencies: *And provided also* , That where persons are required; in the performance of the duties under this act, to travel from one place to another, their actual expenses, or a reasonable sum in lieu thereof, may be allowed them: *And provided also* , That no allowance shall be made to any person for travel or expenses in coming to the seat of Government to settle his accounts, unless thereto required by the Secretary of War: *And provided also* , That no person shall hold more than one office at the same time under this act, nor shall any agent, sub-agent, interpreter, or person employed under this act, receive his salary while absent from his agency or employment without leave of the Superintendent or Secretary of War: *Provided* , such absence shall at no time exceed sixty days.

Sec. 11. *And be it further enacted* , That the payment of all annuities or other sums stipulated by treaty to be made to any Indian tribe, shall be made to the chiefs of such tribe, or to such person as said tribe shall appoint; or if any tribe shall appropriate their annuities to the purpose of education, or to any other specific use, then to such person or persons as such tribe shall designate.

Sec. 12. *And be it further enacted* , That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, at the request of any Indian tribe to which any annuity shall be payable in money, to cause the same to be paid in goods, purchased as provided in the next section of this act.

Sec. 13. *And be it further enacted* , That all merchandise 393 required by any Indian treaty for the Indians, payable after making of such treaty, shall be purchased under the direction of the Secretary of War, upon proposals to be received, to be based on notices previously to be given; and all merchandise required at the making of any Indian treaty shall be purchased under the order of the commissioners, by such person as they shall appoint, or by such person as shall be designated by the President for that purpose. And all other purchases on account of the Indians, and all payments to them of money or goods, shall be made by such person as the President shall designate for that purpose.

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And the superintendent, agent, or sub-agent, together with such military officer as the President may direct, shall be present, and certify to the delivery of all goods and money required to be paid or delivered to the Indians. And the duties required, by any section of this act, of military officers, shall be performed without any other compensation than their actual travelling expenses; and all persons whatsoever, charged or trusted with the disbursement or application of money, goods, or effects of any kind, for the benefit of the Indians, shall settle their accounts annually at the War Department on the first day of October; and copies of the same shall be laid, annually, before Congress at the commencement of the ensuing session, by the proper accounting officers; together with a list of the names of all persons to whom money, goods, or effects had been delivered within said year for the benefit of the Indians, specifying the amount and object for which it was intended, and showing who are delinquents, if any, in forwarding their accounts according to the provisions of this act; and, also, 394 a list of the names of all persons appointed or employed under this act, with the dates of their appointment or employment, and the salary and pay of each.

Sec. 14. *And be it further enacted* , That no person employed in the Indian Department shall have any interest or concern in any trade with the Indians, except for and on account of the United States; and any person offending herein shall forfeit the sum of five thousand dollars; and upon satisfactory information of such offence being laid before the President of the United States, it shall become his duty to remove such person from the office or situation he may hold.

Sec. 15. *And be it further enacted* , That the President shall be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause any of the friendly Indians west of the Mississippi river, and north of the boundary of the Western Territory, and the region upon Lake Superior and the head of the Mississippi, to be furnished with useful domestic animals and implements of husbandry, and with goods, as he shall think proper: *Provided* , That the whole amount of such presents shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars.

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Sec. 16. *And be it further enacted* , That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause such rations as he shall judge proper, and as can be spared from the army provisions without injury to the service, to be issued, under such regulations as he shall think fit to establish, to Indians who may visit the military posts or agencies of the United States on the frontiers, or in their respective nations; and a special account of these issues shall be kept and rendered.

Sec. 17. *And be it further enacted* , That the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby, authorized 395 to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may think fit for carrying into effect the various provisions of this act, and of any other act relating to Indian affairs, and for the settlement of the accounts of the Indian Department.

Sec. 18. *And be it further enacted* , That all acts, or parts of acts, contrary to the provisions of this act, shall be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Approved , June 30 th , 1834.

Regulations concerning the payment of Indian Annuities.

1. All annuities payable by treaty stipulations to any Indian tribe will be hereafter paid by a military officer, to be designated for that purpose, under the provisions of the act passed June 30th, 1834, entitled "An act to provide for the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs," except where, from some local cause or other circumstance, it may become necessary to have the payments otherwise made; in which event special instructions for that purpose will be given by the Secretary of War.

2. The officer designated for the above duty will be advised thereof through the proper military office, but the necessary instructions for the execution of the duty will be given by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

3. Drafts for the payment of the annuities will be transmitted to such officer, who will procure the necessary funds thereupon, and transport them to the place of payment. The annuities will be paid in specie, except where the Indians are willing to receive bank bills, which, at the place of payment, are equivalent to gold and silver. If the Indians fully understand the value of such bank bills, 396 which are equivalent to gold and silver at the place of payment, and are willing to receive the same to avoid the expense and risk of transportation, bills, under such circumstances, may be paid to them: but the officers making and superintending the payment will take care that the Indians fully understand the matter, and act according to the dictates of their own judgment.
4. When it becomes necessary to pay annuities, instructions will be given by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the proper agent or sub-agent, and also to the officer designated to make the payment. The agent or sub-agent will fix upon the time and place, and will advise the officer of the same, and such officer will make his arrangements to have funds ready at the time and place fixed upon.
5. The proper agent or sub-agent will take care that the Indians receive the necessary information, in order that they may assemble at the time and place designated; for that purpose he is authorized to send messages to the tribe, and the expense of such messages will be defrayed upon his certificate by the officer designated to make the payment. It is presumed, however, that the necessary information may be communicated generally without expense; and in no instance will the expenses for this object, for any one agency or sub-agency, be allowed to exceed the sum of one hundred dollars, unless a previous representation of the necessity thereof be made to the War Department and approved.
6. From the situation and circumstances of the various Indian tribes, a uniform rule respecting the issuing of provisions during the payment of annuities cannot be prescribed. 397 Some of the tribes will require no such assistance, while it must be rendered to others. In the instructions issued on the subject of the annuities, the Commissioner of Indian

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Affairs will designate those agencies or subagencies where it will become necessary to provide assistance during the time of payment. In all cases, however, where the payment is made in the vicinity of a military post, the necessary provisions will be issued from the army stores, upon the requisition of the proper agent or sub-agent, and upon the order of the commanding officer, and accounted for in the manner heretofore practised.

7. Where provisions are required for the payment of annuities, at places where there are no military posts, the agent or sub-agent will form a contract, to be based upon proposals, giving at least twenty days' public notice, specifying the quantity of provisions, and the day, and place, and circumstances of issue. In determining the quantity, the agent or sub-agent will estimate, from the best means within his power, the number of Indians that will probably attend; but no contract will be made for a larger amount than may be previously directed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

8. The ration to be issued will consist of one pound of fresh beef, if the same can be had, but if not, then of three-fourths of a pound of salt meat, and three-fourths of a quart of corn or of corn meal, or of one pound of wheat flour, to each person, and of four quarts of salt to every one hundred persons; but no salt will be issued when the Indians receive salt meat.

Returns, specifying the number of Indians, distinguishing men, women, and children, and stating the tribe, will be drawn by the agent or sub-agent on the contractor, and upon these issues will be made. After the business is completed, these returns will be consolidated into an abstract, and certified by the agent or sub-agent, and the military officer, and thereupon payment will be made to the contractor, The abstracts and contracts will be the vouchers for the settlement of the accounts.

9. It is believed that, in most cases, three days' provisions will be found sufficient; viz. one upon the day of arrival, one upon the day of payment, and one upon the day of departure. Should two days, however, be found necessary to complete the payment, four days' provisions may be allowed.

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10. Independent of the Indian agent or sub-agent, and of the military officer making the payment at places where it may be convenient, another military officer will be directed to be present, and certify to the payment.

11. Previously to the payments, the agent or sub-agent, and the military officer or officers, will convene the Indians, and ascertain from them in what manner they desire the annuity to be paid: whether to the chiefs of the tribe, to heads of families, or in any other manner. They will take care that the Indians fully comprehend the subject, and act upon their own suggestions; and, after getting their views, the payment will be made in conformity thereto. The decision of the Indians will be certified upon the receipt rolls by the above officers.

12. Payment will, in all cases, be made to the Indians, and to no other person; nor will any debt or claim of any kind be allowed or paid, excepting claims provided for in the 17th section of the act passed the 30th ultimo, and 399 entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontier."

13. Where property is taken or destroyed, in the manner described in the said section, the person interested therein will procure the necessary documents and proofs substantiating his claim. These documents and proofs will be submitted to the proper superintendent, agent, or sub-agent, and at the next period of paying annuities the same will be laid before the persons superintending such payment. They will inquire into the circumstances, and interrogate the Indians; and if they are satisfied the claim is just, they will then make a formal demand upon the tribe for satisfaction. If, thereupon, such tribe agree to make satisfaction, the amount shall be taken from the annuity due to such tribe, and paid to the person entitled thereto. Triplicate receipts will be taken from the person receiving such payment, expressing the nature and circumstances thereof; one of which shall be kept by the agent or sub-agent; one shall be delivered to a chief of the tribe; and the third shall be transmitted, with the annuity receipts, to the office of Indian Affairs. The annuity receipt will also express the payment so made: that is, it will acknowledge, on the part of the Indians,

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the receipt of the whole annuity due to them; specifying that such part was due to them, and such part to the person named, on account of the injury before mentioned.

14. If the Indians refuse to allow such claim, the agent, sub-agent, and military officers attending the payment, will, after making the inquiries aforesaid, state all the circumstances which may become known to them, and certify the same, together with their opinion, with the documents and 400 proofs, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for ultimate decision. And when it shall be decided that the claimant is entitled to redress, special instructions will be issued to the proper agent or sub-agent; and, at the next period of paying the annuity, the amount will be deducted therefrom and paid to the proper person. And the Indians will be informed that such is the decision of the President upon the case.

15. Payments of all annuities will be made in public, and in the presence of whatever persons may choose to attend; and triplicate receipt rolls will be prepared, and will be signed by the proper chiefs of the tribe. These receipt rolls will be witnessed by two or more respectable persons who may attend the payment, and will be duly certified by the persons making and superintending the same; two of these rolls will be forwarded for settlement.

16. The agent or sub-agent will reduce to writing the substance of all the speeches made by the Indians who may be present, and transmit fair copies of the same to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. These speeches will be certified by the military officers.

17. The abovementioned law provides that no allowance will be made to any military officer for his services, except for his actual travelling expenses. The expenses of transporting the annuity, including a reasonable compensation to a confidential person to aid in the transportation where the amount is large, will be paid upon the production of proper vouchers, and the certificate of the officer making the expenditure. Where, from exposed situations, or from the magnitude of the sum, it may become necessary to provide

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for the greater security of the funds, instructions will be issued from the Adjutant-general's 401 Office to the respective commanding officers to furnish such a guard as may be required.

It is intended to designate the officers at each station, doing the duty of quartermaster or commissary, to disburse the funds herein referred to: and, as a general rule, the commanding officer of the post will be appointed to aid in superintending the payment. Necessary exceptions from these rules, when they occur, will be provided for.

18. It will be the duty of the agent or sub-agent, and military officers attending these payments, to explain fully to the Indians the provisions of the 16th and 17th sections of the abovementioned act, which prescribe the mode of redress, as well for white persons as Indians, when injuries are committed by one upon the other. And the Indians will, at such times, be enjoined to restrain their own people from committing injuries, not only as the offender is liable to punishment, but because the amount will be deducted from the annuity due to the tribe; and they will also be informed that the law makes adequate provision for their compensation when they are injured by citizens of the United States; but if they endeavour to procure redress by violent means, they become not only liable to punishment, but forfeit all their claims to compensation.

19. The twelfth section of the above-named act having provided that, when any Indian tribe requests it, the annuity due to such tribe may be; paid in goods, it will be the duty of the agent or sub-agent, while attending any annuity payment, to communicate this information to the Indians, and to inquire of them whether they desire their next annuity to be paid in money or in goods. Their answer will be signed by the chiefs, certified by the agent VOL. II. 2 D 402 or sub-agent, and transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and the Indians will be informed that the next annuity will be paid in the mode pointed out by them, and arrangements will accordingly be made therefor.

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20. Where an annuity is payable in goods, either by law, by treaty, or at the request of the Indians, such goods will be purchased by contract, to be based upon proposals previously issued. Such proposals will be issued under the direction of the Secretary of War, and by a person to be designated by him, and will give at least thirty days' previous notice. Such notice will specify the amount required, the time and place of delivery, and will describe, as minutely as practicable, the kinds and quality of the various articles required. In determining the kind and quality of the articles, regard must be had to the habits and tastes of the tribe for whom such articles are designed. Of this, the proper superintendent, agent, or sub-agent, must judge, unless the Indians themselves shall decide the matter. With this view, the subject will be explained to them at every annuity payment, and, if they see fit, the various articles, in the proportions to be indicated by them, will be purchased accordingly for the next payment. The mode of determining the quantity will be as follows: if, for instance, the annuity due to the tribe be ten thousand dollars, the proposals will state that such a portion of that amount, say two thousand dollars, will be for blankets—such a portion, say two thousand dollars, for strouds—such a portion, say one thousand dollars, for calicoes—such a portion, say five hundred dollars, for powder—such a portion, say five hundred dollars, for tobacco—and so on; designating the proportional part which shall be assigned 403 to each particular object. The goods will be transported to the place of delivery at the sole expense of the contractor, and kept there at his risk until delivered by the proper officers to the Indians. In all cases, patterns of blankets, strouds, and such other articles as cannot be described with sufficient precision, will be deposited at some convenient place for inspection, and the articles to be furnished will be in conformity therewith. If they are not in such conformity, they will be liable to the proceeding subsequently described herein.

21. The agent or sub-agent, and military officers attending the payment, will particularly examine all the articles, and will take care that they are of the proper quality, so that full justice shall be done to the Indians. In case the goods are not upon the spot, it shall be referred to them whether they will receive the money, or wait till the goods can be

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procured, either at that or the succeeding season. If they choose to receive the money, it shall be immediately procured, and paid to them on the principle before described. If they prefer the goods, such goods shall be procured by a new contract, the same season if practicable; but if there is not time then, it shall be done at the next season. But if the goods are ready for delivery, and are found defective in quality, then the Indians shall also be called upon to decide whether they will receive such articles as are found defective, or whether they wish the payment to be made as is provided in this article. If they prefer the latter, the proceedings above described will take place; but if they agree to accept the defective articles at such a price as the agent or sub-agent and military officer may fix, 404 then such persons will ascertain the difference in value between the articles so delivered, and those required to be delivered, and shall deduct double the amount thereof from the sum to be paid to the contractor, and pay the same to the Indians. But if the agent or sub-agent and military officer are satisfied that the quality of the articles is such that it would not be proper for the Indians, under any circumstances, to receive them, then they will explain the matter without referring the question to the Indians, and will proceed in other respects as before described.

22. Forms of notices for proposals for goods, and for contracts for the same, will be prepared and transmitted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Every contractor will be required to give bond in twice the amount to be furnished, with at least three sufficient securities, whose solvency and respectability shall be known to the officer making the contract, or to respectable persons known to him.

23. Goods for the Indians will be delivered in the same manner as is provided in the delivery of specie. They will be divided into separate shares, or be handed over in bulk, as the Indians may choose. The contracts will be transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the receipt rolls of the Indians as vouchers for the settlement of the accounts. No portion of the money will be paid until after the goods are actually received by the Indians.

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24. In order to preserve the proper authority of the agent or sub-agent with the Indians, the agent or sub-agent will be the organ of communication at all annuity payments.

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Officers employed in the Indian Department, under the Act for the Organization of the Indian Department,—approved June 30th , 1834.

Superintendent.

William Clark, St. Louis, compensation 1500 dollars per annum.

J. J. Ruland, Clerk, St. Louis, 1000 dollars per ann.

Agents, at a compensation of 1500 dollars per annum.

William Marshall, *Indiana.*

This agency includes all the Indians and Indian country within the limits of that State.

Benjamin Reynolds, *Chickasaws.*

This agency includes that tribe.

Lawrence Talliaferro, *St. Peter's.*

This agency includes all the country west of the agency of Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, and north of the Green Bay and Prairie du Chien agencies, comprehending the various families of the Sioux tribe upon the waters of the Mississippi and its tributary streams, and upon the waters of Red river.

Jos. M. Street, *Prairie du Chien.*

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This agency includes all the Indians and Indian country west of the Green Bay agency, south of the agencies of Michilimackinac and St. Peter's, extending west as far as the Winnebago country extends, and comprehending within its limits the Sac and Fox Indians and their country.

R. W. Cummins, *Northern Agency of Western Territory*.

This agency includes all the Indians and Indian country 406 within the superintendency of St. Louis, south of the Upper Missouri agency, excepting therefrom the Shawanees, Ottawas, Peorias and Kaskaskias, and Piankeshaws; and Weas, who will constitute a separate sub-agency.

John Dougherty, *Upper Missouri*.

This agency includes all the Indians and Indian country west of the State of Missouri, north of the northern agency of the Western Territory, and extending west and north, so as to include the Otoes, Pawnees, Omahas, and Poncas.

George Boyd, Green Bay.

This agency includes all the Indians and Indian country north of the Chicago agency, west and south of the agency of Michilimackinac and the Sault Ste. Marie, and extending west to a line running due north and south, through the portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers.

H. R. Schoolcraft, *Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie*.

This agency includes all the Indians and Indian country on the peninsula of Michigan, from the mouth of Thunder Bay river, round the shores of the lakes, to the White river of Lake Michigan, and the islands of Lake Huron, and the peninsula between Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, and Lake Huron, as far west as the Monistic river, and all the country upon

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Lake Superior, and all the region possessed by the Chippewa Indians, comprehending the Upper Mississippi.

F. W. Armstrong, *Southern Agency of Western Territory* , and acting Superintendent.

This agency includes the Choctaws and their country.

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Sub-agents, at a compensation of 750 dollars per annum.

H. Conner, Michigan.

Lt.-Col. E. Cutler, Fort Winnebago.

James Jackson, Maumee.

J. L. Bean, Sioux.

J. F. A. Sanford, Mandan.

A. S. Hughes, Ioway.

M. G. Clark, Ottaway.

L. Tarrant, Creeks, East.

George Varhon, Cherokees, West.

R. A. M'Cabe, Creeks, West.

P. L. Chouteau, Osage.

J. M'Elvain, Ohio Indians, Sandusky.

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James Stryker, Buffalo, N. Y.

Interpreters, at a compensation of 300 dollars per annum.

R. Grignon, Green Bay.

Antoine Le Clair, Rock Island.

Charles Maubrain, Missouri.

James Rankin, Sandusky.

George Johnson, Michilimackinac.

Nathan Strong, Buffalo.

Antoine Dunord, Detroit.

James Baron, Logansport.

Michael St. Cyr, Fort Winnebago.

Amable Grignon, Prairie du Chien.

Duncan Campbell, St. Peter's.

Jacques Mettez, St. Louis.

Joseph James, Kansas.

James Conner, Shawanee.

Peter Cudjoc. Kickapoo.

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Henry Clay, Ottaway.

B. Mongradier, Osage.

Jackson Kemp, Chickasaws.

Paddy Carr, Creeks, East.

(not reported) do. West.

(not reported) Cherokees, West.

R. M. Jones, Choctaws.

Jeffrey Dorney, Ioways.

Zephier Rencouter, Sioux.

Toussant Charbonneau, Mandan.

(not reported) Quapaws.

(not reported) Caddors.

THE END

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